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New Shakspere Society's Transactions,
1877-8.

NOTICES OF MEETINGS.

THIRTY-THIRD MEETING, FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1877.

PROFESSOR KARL ELZE of Halle, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, on taking the chair, said :—‘Ladies and Gentlemen :—Before entering on the business of the evening, I cannot but express my sense of the flattering compliment that has been paid to me by the invitation to take the chair on the present occasion ; for, to preside over a meeting of an English Shakspere Society in Shakspere’s own country is an honour of which a foreigner may well be proud. I do not, however, presume to attribute this honour to myself and my own slight merit, I rather attribute it to the German sister society, and to German Shakspere-learning, and German literature at large. I need not dwell on the well-known fact, which has no parallel in the whole history of literature, that Shakspere has found a second home in Germany, and that he is admired and cherished by us as much as any of our own great poets. A German critic has said, that Shakspere cradled our infant drama ; and there can be no doubt whatever that within ten years after his death German alterations of some of his plays were being acted in the principal courts and towns of Germany, however rude and repulsive those alterations may appear to the more refined taste of the present age. Since that time Shakspere has shared all the vicissitudes, all the ups and downs of our litera-

ture, just like our own classic poets. All the foremost poets, critics, and scholars of Germany have done their best to bring him nearer, not only to our understanding, but also to our hearts and sympathies. It is hardly too much to say that the works and names of Lessing, Goethe, Schlegel, Tieck, Gervinus, and numerous others will be entwined for ever with the work and name of Shakspere. The present generation follows in the wake of these great leaders; and in some ill-advised quarters it is even a matter of complaint, that there is now no end in Germany of translations, of editions, of criticisms and essays on Shakspere. The simple fact that in a few days the twelfth volume of the German Shakspere Annual will be ready for delivery, seems to me a sufficient proof, not only of the earnestness and energy with which these studies are pursued, but also of the immeasurable compass and the inexhaustible depth of the subject.

'But it is by no means as an inexhaustible source of textual and aesthetic criticism, of literary research and antiquarian lore, that we prize Shakspere most. He would never have taken that prominent and lasting hold of our stage, where he is a successful competitor with Goethe and Schiller, if we did not take him for one of the greatest dramatic poets—if not *the* greatest dramatic poet—that ever lived; for a poet of the liveliest and sweetest imagination, and of an unparalleled creative power; for a poet of the widest intellectual grasp; for a heart-searcher who never had his like; and last, not least, for a teacher of mankind who inculcates the noblest and most elevated moral lessons, who fills our hearts with the love of wisdom, truth, and virtue, with noble aspirations, with loving-kindness and charity. He is indeed a Jacob's ladder to everything that is right, and honest, and true, and beautiful all over the world; and I am happy to say, that the conviction of his moral purity and elevation, in spite of some outward appearance to the contrary, is daily gaining ground with all civilized nations, and is uniting them in bonds of sympathy. Thus then Shakspere does not only prove a teacher of mankind, but also a golden link of human brotherhood. In this respect, as in many others, he is like nature, whose touch "makes the whole world kin." And it is in this sense that I may be allowed

to feel myself kin to you and to all Shakspere's countrymen ; and I should be much afraid of wronging you, if I did not feel convinced that you reciprocate this feeling.'

The new Members announced were : Signor Pagliardini, Prof. J. J. Lias, Prof. E. H. Smith, E. S. Cox, Mrs W. R. Bullock, Bradford Literary Club, and J. Mackenzie Miall.

The Papers read were :—

I. On the Character of Brutus in the play of *Julius Cæsar*, by Peter Bayne, Esq.

II. On the Division of the Acts in *Lear*, *Much Ado*, and *Twelfth Night*, by James Spedding, Esq., M.A., Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

I. Setting out with the remark that the impartial dramatic sympathy of Shakspere (which enabled him to enter the heart and speak from the mouth alike of Cordelia and of Iago) made it difficult to discern his personal sentiments, Mr Bayne suggested one or two criteria by which his views as a man might be discovered in his works as an artist. One of these was the general impression left on the mind by a particular drama : we might generally be sure that what we felt strongly was what Shakspere intended us to feel. Another was his choice of subjects, and his mode of deciding between issues presented on the stage. When, for example, Shakspere chose for treatment "perhaps the most momentous issue ever fought out in this world, that between Cæsar and Brutus," we may believe that his adhesion to the cause of popular right, as opposed to unlimited personal sovereignty, was indicated by his decision that the action of Brutus was heroic. Quoting, as applicable to the early Romans as well as to the Greek, these words of Grote—"The hatred of kings was a pre-eminent virtue, flowing directly from the noblest and wisest part of their nature,"—Mr Bayne argued that Shakspere, though no classical scholar, evinced a more accurate conception of the moral and patriotic ideal of the ancients in making Brutus the hero of his play, than those clerical scholars "who, influenced by modern ideas, affirmed that those who slew Cæsar were guilty of a great crime." Even in his weaknesses, the Brutus of Shakspere was represented as noble. He expected to find others as good as himself, a fatal mistake in practical affairs, and trusted for influence upon masses of men to reason and logic rather than to rhetorical art. Antony, therefore, who, as compared with him, was a political charlatan, got the better of him. Mr Bayne illustrated at some length the position that Shakspere always represented the multitude as foolish and childish, but, at the same time, recognized the soundness of their instincts, and the readiness with which they responded to any appeal to their gratitude and courtesy. That Shakspere had an exceptional and superlative regard for the character of Brutus, Mr

Bayne argued, from the careful elaboration of the scenes with Portia and with the boy Lucius,—scenes to which there is nothing parallel in Shakspere's treatment of men,—and from the estimate of Brutus put into the mouth of Antony, his enemy :—

“ His life was gentle ; and the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, *This was a man !* ”

II. Mr Furnivall then read : 1, some notes by Prof. Dowden on the opening bridal song in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, showing that the flowers in it were emblems of wedded life ; 2, a paper, by Mr James Spedding, “ On the Division of the Acts in *Lear*, *Much Ado*, and *Twelfth Night*. ” Mr Spedding insisted that in *Lear* time must be given for the great battle in Act V. sc. ii. to be fought, and that, therefore, the end of Act IV. must be moved forward to the *exit* Edgar in the present V. ii., while Act V. must begin with Edgar's re-entrance. In *Much Ado*, Mr Spedding would end Act I. with its first scene ; start Act II. with the present I. ii., and end it with II. ii. ; open Act III. with Benedick in the garden, the present II. iii. ; and begin Act IV. in Hero's dressing-room, the present III. iv. In *Twelfth Night*, Mr Spedding proposed to end Act I. with the present I. iv. ; Act II. with the present II. ii. ; and Act III. with the present III. i., the fourth and fifth Acts ending where they do now. In *Richard the Second*, the first Act should end with its third scene instead of its fourth. By these changes the present incongruities would be removed.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the writers for their Papers. In the discussion on the first Paper Messrs Furnivall, Wedmore, Matthew, Hetherington, and Pickersgill took part.

After the other business of the evening was ended, Mr Furnivall rose and said : ‘ Altho' it is not customary to return a vote of thanks to our Chairman when one of ourselves is in the Chair, yet on an occasion like to-night's, when we are honour'd with the presence of one of the most distinguisht Shakspere scholars of Germany, the editor of their Shakspere Society's Year-book, the friend of our friend Professor Delius—who has been twice among us and thrice sent us Papers for our *Transactions*,—I feel that you will all wish to return to Professor Elze your thanks for presiding over us to-night, and speaking to us those generous words in praise of our great Poet with which he opend our Meeting. It is a heart-felt pleasure to every English Shakspere-student, to know that in Germany, the poet he loves and honours has been made the nation's own, and that every German scholar who visits our shores, brings with him reverence and love for Shakspere. Our own Society owes Germany no common debt. When we started, Germany had for eight years had her Shakspere Society, which is now in its 12th year, while we are in

our 4th. It was from German ground that our Society mainly started :—the insisting that Shakspere be graspt and treated as a whole, the workings of his mind followd from its rise to its fall, and that,—as our member Miss Hickey puts it,—each Play be studied, not only as one of Shakspere's works, but as part of his work. Our Prospectus from the first has contained the paragraph—

“‘The profound and generous ‘Commentaries’ of Gervinus—an honour to a German to have written, a pleasure to an Englishman to read—is still the only book known to me that comes near the true treatment and the dignity of its subject, or can be put into the hands of the student who wants to know the mind of SHAKSPERE.’”

‘And though now we have works that can stand beside Gervinus’s, yet none the less do we still give him the post of honour among us. Prof. Delius’s text of our poet has also just been reprinted in London. Our Chairman’s Essays on Shakspere have been englisht. And I am sure he knows that no insular narrowness mixes with the feeling with which we return thanks to him, the first German scholar who has presided over us, the representative to us of that nation, great in learning and great in war, our own kith and kin, which has in our own time so splendidly asserted its love for its fatherland, as well in the battle-field, as in the realms of literature and science, the conquests of peace.’

The vote of thanks was carried with applause, and Professor Elze bowd his acknowledgment.

THE
NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S
TRANSACTIONS.

1875 - 6.

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C O N T E N T S.

	PAGE
NOTICES OF MEETINGS, &c., 1875-6	ix—xxx
I. ON THE CORRECTED EDITION OF <i>RICHARD III.</i> By JAMES SPEDDING, Esq., M.A., HONORARY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE	1
I. ALTERATIONS IN THE FOLIO <i>Richard III.</i> WHICH CAN- NOT HAVE BEEN INTENDED BY SHAKSPERE	3
II. ALTERATIONS MADE TO IMPROVE THE METRE	38
III. ALTERATIONS MADE TO AVOID THE RECURRENCE OF THE SAME WORD	48
IV. ALTERATIONS MADE TO REMOVE OBSOLETE PHRASES	57
V. ALTERATIONS MADE TO REMOVE DEFECTS NOT APPAR- ENT TO THE EDITORS	60
VI. ALTERATIONS IN THE STAGE-DIRECTIONS	65
NOTE	74
Discussion on Paper I. (Prof. Delius's view: Mr Matthew)	75
ON THE QUARTO AND THE FOLIO OF <i>RICHARD III.</i> By EDWARD H. PICKERSGILL, Esq., B.A., LON- DON	77
ALTERATIONS IN THE FOLIO <i>Richard III.</i> WHICH ARE ATTRIBUTED BY MR SPEDDING TO THE PRINTER	80
ALTERATIONS MADE TO IMPROVE THE METRE	99
ALTERATIONS MADE TO AVOID THE RECURRENCE OF THE SAME WORD	101
ALTERATIONS MADE TO REMOVE OBSOLETE PHRASES	103
ALTERATIONS MADE TO REMOVE DEFECTS NOT APPAR- ENT TO THE CAMBRIDGE EDITORS	104
ALTERATIONS IN THE STAGE-DIRECTIONS	105
PASSAGES WEAKENED IN THE FOLIO	106
THE PASSAGES PECULIAR TO THE FOLIO PART OF THE PLAY AS IT WAS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN	113

	PAGE
Discussion on Mr Pickersgill's Paper (Mr Aldis Wright)	123
Mr Spedding's Postscript to the <i>Richard III.</i> Discussion	190
 II. ON THE QUARTO AND FOLIO OF <i>KING LEAR.</i> By PROFESSOR DR N. DELIUS, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN	125
III. ON "EVENING MASS" IN <i>ROMEO AND JULIET,</i> IV. i. 38. By RICHARD SIMPSON, Esq., B.A. . . .	148
IV. ON SOME PLAYS ATTRIBUTED TO SHAKSPERE. By RICHARD SIMPSON, Esq., B.A. . . .	155
V. ON THE <i>BOND-STORY</i> IN THE <i>MERCHANT OF VENICE</i> , AND A VERSION OF IT IN THE <i>CURSOR MUNDI.</i> By Miss TOULMIN SMITH. (See Note, p. 457.)	181
VI. NOTE UPON THE "ELF-LOCKS" IN <i>ROMEO AND JULIET</i> , I. iv. 91, 92. By J. WICKHAM LEGG, M.D., F.S.A.	191
VII. GRUACH (LADY MACBETH). By THE COUNTESS OF CHARLEMONT	194
VIII. ON THE CHARACTER OF BANQUO. By ALGERNON FOGGO, M.A., CAMB.	200
· Discussion (Mr Furnivall)	205
IX. ON SHAKSPERE'S USE OF NARRATION IN HIS DRAMAS. PART I. (ENGLISHED BY MISS GORDON.) By PROFESSOR N. DELIUS. (FOR PART II, see p. 332.) . .	207
X. ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SECOND AND THIRD PARTS OF <i>HENRY VI</i> , AND THEIR ORIGINALS. By MISS JANE LEE	219
Discussion (Mr Furnivall)	280
Miss Lee's Answer	289
TABLE OF SHAKSPERE'S AND MARLOWE'S SHARES IN 2 and 3 <i>Henry VI.</i> By MISS LEE	293
TABLE OF MARLOWE'S AND GREENE'S SHARES IN THE <i>Contention</i> AND <i>True Tragedy.</i> By MISS LEE . .	304
MISS LEE'S POSTSCRIPT TO PAPER X.	307

	PAGE
PARALLELISMS BETWEEN <i>Lucrece</i> AND 2 and 3 <i>Henry VI</i> (BY MR FURNIVALL)	312
XI. THE POLITICAL ELEMENT IN MASSINGER. BY PROFESSOR S. R. GARDINER	314
XII. ON SHAKSPERE'S USE OF NARRATION IN HIS DRAMAS. PART II. (ENGLISHT BY MISS MARX.) BY PROFESSOR N. DELIUS	332

APPENDIXES.

I. SHAKSPERE'S DRAMATIC ART.

a. EDITORIAL NOTE, BY DR C. M. INGLEBY	349
b. THE TIME-ANALYSIS OF <i>Macbeth</i> AND <i>Othello</i> , BY THE LATE PROF. J. WILSON (CHRISTOPHER NORTH)	351
c. SHAKSPERE'S DRAMATIC UNITIES, WITH THE TIME-ANALYSIS OF <i>The Merchant of Venice</i> , BY THE LATE REV. N. J. HALPIN	388

II. DR S. FORMAN'S <i>BOOK OF PLAYS</i> , OR NOTES IN 1611 ON SHAKSPERE'S <i>RICHARD II</i> , <i>WINTER'S TALE</i> , <i>CYMBELINE</i> , AND <i>MACBETH</i> ; WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE LORD TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS FOR 6 OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS ACTED IN 1613	413
--	-----

III. ON THE CONFUSION OF TIME IN THE <i>MERRY WIVES</i> . BY R. GRANT WHITE, Esq.	421
---	-----

IV. THE SPEECHES OF BRUTUS ON CÆSAR, AND OF ANTONY OVER CÆSAR'S DEAD BODY, FROM THE ENGLISHT <i>APPIAN'S CHRONICLE</i> OF 1578..	427
--	-----

V. ACCOUNT OF THE GERMAN SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S <i>JAHRBUCH</i> , 1876, BY F. D. MATTHEW, Esq.	440
---	-----

VI. COLLATION OF THE FIRST EDITION OF MARLOWE'S <i>EDWARD II</i> , 1594, WITH DYCE'S TEXT OF 1850, MARLOWE'S WORKS, VOL. II., BY DR RUDOLPH GENÉE OF DRESDEN	445
--	-----

	PAGE
VII. A LIST OF SHAKSPEREANA SINCE JAN. 1, 1874, BY	
MR FRANZ THIMM	452
NOTE ON 1 <i>Henry IV</i> , II. iii. 90	124
NOTE ON THE DATE OF <i>Venus & Adonis</i>	150
NOTE ON <i>Twelfth Night</i> , II. v. 66-7	154
NOTE ON THE BOND- AND CASKET-STORIES IN THE <i>Merchant</i> <i>of Venice</i>	457
INDEX (BY W. WILKINS, Esq., TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN.) ..	461

SCRAPS, quotations for :

<i>brach, buttons, convey, England, face-painting</i>	193
<i>cankered, heels, Inn, in despite of the teeth</i>	198
<i>shrend turn, swabber, swaggerer, tittle-tattle, whist, Witten-</i> <i>burg, atonement, baked meat, attent, chat, conditioned</i> ..	199
<i>cliquant, collied, convertite, fault, fig</i>	205
<i>flirt-gills, a fool's Paradise, foyne, gall'd jade wince, harlotry,</i> <i>ham, swaggerer</i>	206
<i>homekeeping, eat out of house and home, jack, jump, kecksie or</i> <i>hex, kibe</i>	292
<i>law ('the Law allors it'), lone woman, lumpish, meacock, me-</i> <i>chanical, moth, napping, nick (of time)</i>	313
<i>old, 'at quiet,' slaver, tender years, thrasonical, time and tide,</i> <i>white ('spit white')</i>	346
<i>all-to, arauunt! baggage, bless, bottle of hay, bouncing, brabble</i> ..	420
<i>brag, by, carbonado, casual, changeling, coil, controlment, drown</i> ..	423
<i>excellent, familiarity, fleer at, fustian, galled, hand, hang, have</i> <i>with you, heels, in hugger-mugger, impasted</i>	424
<i>in grain, intercessor, jar, kickshaws, linger</i>	439
<i>lubber, lubberly, minion, nipping</i>	445
<i>noll, old, pedant, pied, preciseness</i>	458
<i>pricksong, qualified, sluttish, square, sunbright, timely, too-too,</i> <i>toy, trot, unawares (at)</i>	459
<i>unmannerly, uphold, urchin, vengeance! waver, whit, Winches-</i> <i>ter goose, world</i>	460

NOTICES OF MEETINGS, 1875-6.

TWELFTH MEETING, Friday, Jan. 8, 1875.

Minutes of Members' Meeting.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read.

The names of the following new Members were read —

The Rev. Alfred Ainger.	Geo. Doe.
Prof. C. Raddatz.	W. W. Ward.
Wm Taylor.	C. Rennick.
Bolton Public Lib. and Musm.	J. S. Philpotts.

On the motion of the Director it was resolved unanimously :

That the best thanks of the Members of the Society be offered to H. R. H. Prince Leopold, one of the Vice-Presidents, for the gift of the Parallel-Text Edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, made by his Royal Highness to the New Shakspere Society.

It was then further resolved :—That the cordial thanks of the Members be presented to P. A. Daniel, Esq., for the care and diligence which he has bestowed upon the Texts of *Romeo and Juliet*, edited by him for the New Shakspere Society ; the value of Mr Daniel's services being enhanced by the personal sacrifice he has made to remain in England in order to carry out his work for the Society.

A vote of thanks was also unanimously passed to Dr C. M. Ingleby, for the gift of 370 copies of his work entitled 'The Still Lion,' and to Mr Furnivall for 500 copies of his "Introduction to 'Gervinus,'" for distribution among the Members.

The Director reported that Part II., completing the 'Transactions' for 1874, was now at press, and that the reprints of *Henry V*, edited by Dr Nicholson, would go to the printer's next week.

The Paper for this evening was, 'On the Two Quartos of *Hamlet*, 1603, 1604,' by the Rev. E. A. Abbott, D.D., and was read by the Author.

Dr Abbott contended that the incomplete Quarto of 1603 contained nothing of Shakspere's that was not in the Second Quarto of 1604, and did not therefore represent an earlier state of the play, although it did contain large alterations of Shakspere's work by the Pirate who arranged for press the incomplete notes and recollections of the play shown in the Second Quarto. These alterations were due

to the Pirate's desire to make the play more of an acting one, and less of a philosophical one.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Dr Abbott, and he was unanimously requested to prepare his Paper for printing in the Society's Transactions, although he had not originally intended it to be printed.

Mr Furnivall could not persuade himself that the very different view of Hamlet's mother taken by Q₁, a view of such great importance in regard to the motive of the play, was due to the compiler of Q₁. The change from her innocence in Q₁, to the doubt of it in Q₂, was Shakspere's change. He believed that Shakspere first partially recast the old *Hamlet*, and that that recast was more or less represented by Q₁.

Mr Simpson also held that Q₁ represented the old Corambis *Hamlet* as partially recast. The change of names in Q₂ showed it. When Q₂ was produced, then the old play would be printed, with, possibly, portions of the new play inserted. Other cases of this occurred.

Dr Nicholson and other members also contended that Q₁ represented an earlier version of the play than Q₂.

Dr Abbott admitted that he had perhaps assigned too much to the Pirate in attributing to him the changes—almost recasts—of the characters of the Queen and King, &c.; these were perhaps due to the old play; but he still doubted whether Q₁ contained more than one line worthy of Shakspere which was not in Q₂.

This being the first Meeting in the new year, it was moved, seconded, and resolved :—

“That the Director, the Members of Committee, and other Officers, be requested to accept the best thanks of the Society for their services during the past year.”

THIRTEENTH MEETING, Friday, Feb. 12, 1875.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE following list of new Members was read :—

Rev. A. C. Auchmuty.	R. H. Kay.
G. B. Ackworth.	Rev. M. W. Mayow.
H. R. Ladell.	Arnold H. Page.
Baron Heath.	Rd. Mitchell.
R. A. Heath.	R. W. Boville.
Earl of Dartrey.	Rev. J. Jenkins, D.D.
W. J. Rawley.	Rev. M. Baldwin.
J. K. Barnes.	Mrs H. Pickersgill.
F. M. Bartholomew.	Faversham Institute.
C. R. Ward.	Miss F. E. Kennedy.

The Income and Expenditure Sheet for the past year, which had been audited by Mr H. B. Wheatley and Mr H. Smart, two of the Members, was presented on behalf of the Treasurer, and was read to the Meeting. The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Auditors.

The Director reported that at the next Meeting, instead of Dr Nicholson's Paper on *King John*, the Scratch Night would be held, and that Mr Hales would speak in favour of an early date (before 1601) for the Play of *Julius Cæsar*; that Mr Simpson had promised a short Paper upon 'Evening Mass'; and that Dr Nicholson would also contribute other short papers.

Mr H. C. Hart having been unable to finish his promised Paper for this evening (owing to his appointment as Botanist to the Arctic Expedition), a Paper was read by Mr Rd. Simpson upon the Comedies of *Mucedorus* and *Faire Em*.

Mr Simpson showed that *Mucedorus* had been attributed to Shakspere on the strength of additions made for a representation at Court some time between 1605 and 1610, when Shakspere was head of the King's players. He showed that *Faire Em* belonged to a series of plays reflecting upon Greene and Peele, all of which were attributed to Shakspere long before the discovery of the allusion to him in the *Groatsworth of Wit* revealed the antagonism between the men. He showed that Greene had attacked *Faire Em* and its author virulently in 1591, and that the play referred to dramatic and literary incidents; that "William the Conqueror" was meant for William Kemp, and "Manville," another of the characters, for Greene. The play belonged to Lord Strange's players, and contained local allusions hardly intelligible out of Lancashire.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Simpson.

On the Committee asking Mr Simpson to print his Paper in the Society's Transactions, he stated that he would rather defer doing so until he could prepare a general account of the pseudo-Shaksperian Plays which he had in contemplation.

The following Papers (sent at very short notice in response to requests from the Director) were also read :

2. A letter to the Director 'On a New Metrical Test (that of the mid-line end of speeches) for ascertaining the Chronology of Shakspere's Plays,' by Prof. J. K. Ingram, LL.D. This test was the "speech-ending" one, a development of the unstopt-line test. In early Plays, nearly all the speeches end with the end of a line; in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 236 speeches do so; while in the late plays very few do; in the *Tempest* only 16. Professor Ingram has found this test hold good for several early and late plays, and he proposes to try all the plays with it.

3. 'Notes on German Shakspere Literature,' by Prof. E. Dowden, LL.D. Professor Dowden first urged on the Society the duty of preparing a Hand-book of Shakspere Literature, by which a student, even in the wilds of a Godless Irish College, might know what had

been written on any play or point he wished to study ; and then an Annual Report, like that of the German Shakspere Society, on all the Shaksperian material of the past year. The Professor then sketched in a pleasing and vivid way the works of German Shakspere writers which he had lately read : those of Genée, Albert Cohn, Franz Horn, Professor Kobersteen, Lemcke ; Ulrici, Karl Elze, and Hertzberg (highly praised) ; Delius (first and alone in his line), Bodenstedt, Flathe (the smasher of all other critics, the adorer of himself), Hebler, Vischer, Benno Tschischowitz (with his interesting *Hamlet* parallel from Giordano Bruno), Rötscher, Otto Ludwig (with admirable points), Eduard Vehse, H. von Friesen, Moriz Cafriere (grouping Shakspere with Michael Angelo, Holbein, &c.), Rümelin (the iconoclast), Gervinus the famous, Kreyssig (the German nearest to the English school), &c.

A vote of thanks was passed to Prof. Dowden, and to the Director as reader of this and the preceding paper. On behalf of the Committee Mr Furnivall stated that Prof. Dowden would be asked to prepare his Paper for publication in the Transactions¹.

4. Extracts from a Lecture ‘On Characteristics of Ben Jonson,’ by E. H. Pickersgill, Esq. Mr E. H. Pickersgill contrasted Ben Jonson’s treatment of character with Shakspere’s : the one put qualities into clothes, the other held the mirror up to nature. Jonson’s men were all folly in comedy, all crime in tragedy ; Shakspere’s rightly mixed in both. Still, many of Jonson’s characters were very striking ; his plots were admirable, his lyrics delightful, his masks unequalled, his pictures of manners most valuable. Though far from Shakspere, Ben Jonson was second in the Elizabethan drama to him alone.

The thanks of the Meeting were given to Mr Pickersgill, as writer, and reader of this Paper.

Mr Simpson, Dr Nicholson, and the Director took part in the discussion upon the above Papers.

FOURTEENTH MEETING, Friday, March 12, 1875.

TOM TAYLOR, Esq., V.P., *in the Chair.*

THE following names of new Members were read :—

Rev. W. A. Harrison.	Alfred Forman.
J. M. Gordon.	C. L. Hadfield.
Wm Fitzgerald.	Louis Blacker.
Rivington & Co.	C. H. Everard.
Richard Johnson.	Magdalen College, Oxford.

The Director announced that Mr Halliwell was endeavouring to arrange for a search being made in the house inhabited by Lady Barnard, Shakspere’s granddaughter, as a last chance of any papers belonging to Shakspere being discovered.

¹ A recast of it will probably appear in *The Quarterly Review*.

The Director also stated that at the Next Meeting Mr Spedding's Paper on the "First Quarto and Folio Edition of *Richard III*" would be read instead of the Paper by Prof. Leo, previously announced, and that Mr Spedding's Paper would, for convenience, be printed in advance, so as to be in the hands of the Members while being read.

A Paper in favour of an early date (not later than 1601) for the Play of *Julius Caesar* was read by Mr J. W. Hales, and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Hales for this Paper.

In the Discussion thereon the following Members took part, viz.: Messrs Tom Taylor, Furnivall, Simpson, and Dr Nicholson.

Papers were then read as under:

By Mr Simpson—On Shakspere's correct use of the expression "Evening Mass" in *Romeo and Juliet*. (Printed below, p. 148.)

By Dr B. Nicholson—Shewing that the word "sea" in the phrase "Sea of troubles" (in *Hamlet*) was used literally and not as a metaphor.

The thanks of the Members were given to Mr Simpson and Dr Nicholson for their Papers.

FIFTEENTH MEETING, Friday, April 9, 1875.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

THE Hon. Sec. reported that the following new Members had joined the Society since the last Meeting:—

C. W. Frederickson.	Rev. J. W. Ebsworth.
Mrs Peter Bayne.	H. P. Bowie.
Perceval Clark.	Miss M. Mayo.
Rev. J. B. Lee.	Mrs R. Leycester.
Boston Pub. Lib., U. S. A.	W. L. Newman.
C. F. Hancock, Junr.	

A Paper was read by Miss L. T. Smith pointing out that the "pound of flesh" incident (in the *Merchant of Venice*) was to be found in the 13th century English version of the "Cursor Mundi," and tracing the story through other parts of early literature. (Printed below, p. 181.)

The thanks of the Meeting were given to Miss Smith for her Paper.

A Paper by Professor Delius, V.P., 'On the Quarto and Folio of *King Lear*,' was taken as read. (Printed below, p. 125.)

Mr James Spedding's paper 'On the Corrected Edition of *Richard III*' (printed below, p. 1), was read by Mr Furnivall. Mr Spedding's object was to establish, as against the editors of the Cambridge Shakspere, that the version of the play in the first Folio is the genuine

work of Shakspere. Its defects, he urged, are due either to the carelessness of printers, or to their difficulty in reading a manuscript which had undergone many corrections. The other differences between the Folio and Quarto are such as may reasonably be attributed to a revision by Shakspere himself, and it is needless to suppose the existence of a transcriber "who worked in the spirit, though not with the audacity, of Colley Cibber."

Mr Matthew gave an account of a paper on the same subject in the Year-book of the German Shakspere Society, by Professor Delius, who was present at the meeting. Professor Delius, while recognising the Folio as the genuine text, does not believe that it was ever revised. He looks upon it as representing (printer's errors apart) the original text of Shakspere. The first Quarto, he thinks, was printed from an imperfect copy, obtained by underhand means, and dressed up for publication by some unknown person.

The thanks of the Members were voted to Mr Spedding, Mr Furnivall, and to Professor Delius and Mr Matthew respectively. In the Discussion on the Paper, Dr Nicholson gave some instances from the Quartos of *Henry V* of the manner in which texts were mutilated in their passage through the press. He did not, like Professor Delius, think it improbable that Shakspere should have revised and altered his work.

After some remarks by Mr Pickersgill, who dwelt strongly on the faulty readings of the Folio as compared with those of the Quarto, Mr Aldis Wright said that the choice between the different texts of *Richard III* was a difficult matter. He read a part of the preface to the play in the Cambridge edition to show that the editors had not spoken with over much confidence. He could not believe that Shakspere had gone through his work, altering a word here and a letter there, as Mr Spedding represented him; he was quite sure that a large majority of the Quarto readings were preferable to those of the Folio, and were therefore Shakspere's. (Mr Pickersgill's argument, expanded, is printed below, p. 77—122.)

SIXTEENTH MEETING, Friday, May 14, 1875.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read.

The Chairman reported that Mr J. O. Halliwell had presented to the Society 600 copies of an Essay by Mr A. H. Paget, entitled 'Shakespeare's Plays: a chapter of Stage History,' and that the thanks of the Society had been expressed to Mr Halliwell.

The Director also stated that on a recent visit to Dublin he had been much gratified at the wide-spread interest in Shakspere work which he had seen and heard of there.

The following list of New Members was read:—

Chas. M. Roupell.	Wm. Wilkins.
Rev. J. Kirkman.	Chas. Hargrove.
Columbia College.	J. B. Harrison.
Wesleyan University, Mid- dleton, Connecticut.	G. W. Curtis.
Thos. Chorlton.	Walter Derham.
	Miss Connolly.

The first Paper this evening was on ‘The Date of *King John*,’ by Dr Brinsley Nicholson. The thanks of the meeting were voted to Dr Nicholson as writer and reader of this Paper. Messrs Furnivall, Simpson, and Pickersgill took part in the Discussion which followed.

The second Paper was “On the Old *Hamlet*,” by Richard Simpson, Esq. The thanks of the Members were given to him. Questions raised in Mr Simpson’s Paper were discussed by Mr Furnivall and Dr Nicholson.

Adjourned.

SEVENTEENTH MEETING, Friday, June 11, 1875.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Hon. Sec. reported that Mr F. Chance and Miss L. B. Courtenay had joined the Society since last Meeting.

A paper was read by Mr Henry B. Wheatley, “On the Originals of Shakspere’s Plots,” in which he made an attempt to arrange the materials collected by a long succession of laborious commentators so as to cause them to throw light upon the poet’s mode of work. The paper was divided into three parts. The first part consisted of an account of the various books Shakspere used, and was, in fact, a catalogue of his supposed library, which must have consisted of histories, poems, plays, novels, translations of classics, travels, &c., all of which were placed under contribution in various degrees, sometimes a bright passage only being transferred from a dull book. In the second part the plays dealt with were divided into classes, and the points of likeness or dissimilarity were discussed. It was stated that the plots of only five of the plays are still untraced, but that those of some others are not certain. The third part was a *résumé* of what had gone before, more particularly in regard to the *dramatis personæ*; and it was shown that Shakspere had some authority, however slight, for his serious characters, but that nearly all his comic ones were entirely the emanation of his own brain. The prototype of Isabella in *Measure for Measure* is Cassandra in Whetstone’s *Promos and Cassandra*; the germ of Portia in the *Merchant of Venice* is to be found in the Widow of Belmont in the Italian novel *Il Pecorone*, and Juliet was a character before Shakspere made her what she is; but no one has yet discovered any hint of Falstaff, Mercutio, Gratiano, Benedick, or

the host of other brilliant beings that people Shakspere's comedies. In the discussion, Mr Furnivall, Mr R. Simpson, Mr Hales, Miss L. Toulmin Smith, and Mr E. H. Pickersgill took part.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Wheatley.

THIRD SESSION.

EIGHTEENTH MEETING, Friday, October 8, 1875.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Director congratulated the Meeting on the opening of the 3rd Session of the Society and on the very satisfactory state of the list of members ; who now numbered over 500, although the Society had been only two years in existence.

He also referred to the plan which the Committee had adopted of giving copies of the Society's Publications to Public Schools as Prizes for the study of Shakspere, and read part of a letter (taken from among several to the same effect) speaking of the encouraging effect which these prizes had had.

The Director also stated that Part 1 of the "Originals and Analogues" Series of the Publications was now ready for issue to Members.

The following list of new Members was read :—

W. Sowter.	Christiania Library.
J. A. Jarman.	J. Goodison.
Gerold & Co.	F. Morshead.
Stecher & Wolff.	C. B. Grant.
E. Lammer.	Dr A. Blair.
Rev. S. A. Brooke.	Dr R. Cartwright.
R. A. Allison.	Rev. C. H. Hawkins.
H. A. Bright.	J. Williams.
St John's College, Baltimore.	W. E. Mullins.
New University Club.	F. W. Cornish.

The first paper, "Notes on Mr Daniel's Theory of the Relation of the first and second Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*," by James Spedding, Esq., Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was read by Mr F. D. Matthew, as was also Mr Daniel's answer to Mr Spedding. Mr Spedding contended that the first Quarto was a substantially correct and perfect representation of the play as performed by the Lord Hundson's servants in 1596-7, and that it was Shakspere's first sketch of his play, while the second Quarto was that play corrected, augmented, and amended by Shakspere at least after two years' further practice of his art, and development of his genius. Mr Spedding argued that the passages expanded in the second Quarto existed in

germ in the first, and made good sense, without the need of supposing them to be shortened representatives of the larger Q₂. Mr Daniel, on the other hand, supported his old argument that Q₁ was a curtailed and often perverted version of Q₂, not only by the opinion of prior editors and his former instances, but by showing that many of the enlargements in Q₂ were drawn from Arthur Brooke's *Romeus*—the acknowledged source of the play—and were evidently taken thence at the same time as the passages used in Q₁. But Mr Daniel confessed that he could not account for the beautiful passages in Q₁, p. 82 of the New Shakspere Society's Parallel Texts, about waking eyes attending the frolic day, &c. An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr Furnivall, Dr Nicholson, Dr Abbott, Mr Simpson, Mr A. J. Ellis, and Mr Pickersgill took part, and in which the balance of opinion was much on the side of Mr Daniel's view. Mr Furnivall and Dr Nicholson both also argued in favour of the view advanced elsewhere by Mr Daniel, that the first Quarto contained on p. 148 of the Parallel Texts, passages not written by Shakspere ("accurst, unhappy, miserable man," &c.), but belonging to an older play.

The second paper was by Dr Wickham Legg on the *Elflocks* in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 80 (printed below, p. 191). Dr Legg contended that the view of all the critics but Nares and Mr Daniel was right, that the "foul sluttish locks" were the *plica Polonica*; and that the untanglement of these was held so inauspicious that Polish peasants would die almost sooner than consent to it. It was, therefore, clear that the reading of the Quartos and first Folio "untangled" was right, and ought not to have been changed to "entangled" by Mr Daniel.

NINETEENTH MEETING, Friday, November 12, 1875.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

THE following Members were announced as having joined the Society since the last report:—

Granby Burke.	B. R. Allen.
T. A. Spalding.	T. B. Gilmore.
F. E. Thompson.	Rt. Hon. N. W. Massey, M.P.
J. T. Danson.	Rt. Hon. Spencer H. Walpole, M.P.
Winchester College Shakspere Society (also an affiliated Society).	N. S. Cooley.

The Director stated that H. R. H. Prince Leopold had offered 50 copies of the Parallel Text Edition of *Romeo and Juliet* for presentation to such of the chief Free Libraries and Mechanics' Institutes as desired to have a copy.

Mr Richard Simpson read selections from a long paper on ‘The Growth of *Hamlet*,’ the object of which was to trace the development of the drama from its germ in Belleforest’s *History of Hamlet*, through the play of 1589—of which we have an outline in the German translation published by Cohn—and the revival of 1598 or 1599, represented by the Quarto of 1603, to its full stature in the play of 1603, represented by the Quarto of 1604 and the Folio of 1623. The chief point touched upon was the allusions to the *Humlets* of 1589 and 1598 to be found in contemporary literature. Several were produced referring to the former, but many more relating to the latter, especially from Marston, the second part of whose *Antonio and Mellida* is little more than a parody of the plot, the incidents, and the sentiments of the *Hamlet* of the Quarto of 1603. Mr Simpson requested the members of the Society to give him any allusions to the story or the poetry of *Hamlet* which they might find in their reading.

A second point was the probable authorship of the earlier *Humlets*. On this question only the external evidence was read, which, Mr Simpson contended, rendered it probable that Shakspere was the writer of the drama of 1589. In reply to Mr Furnivall, who in the discussion introduced some considerations from the alterations in the plot to controvert this asserted probability, Mr Simpson gave a rough outline of some of the internal evidence, derived from the construction of the plot of the first drama out of the history, by which he endeavoured to strengthen his conclusion. He deprecated any positive conclusion being drawn from the mere fragments of the argument which he had been able to bring forward that evening. Dr R. Cartwright then read a short paper on ‘The Early Dates of *Pericles* and *Timon*,’ deduced from differences in the first and second Quartos of *Hamlet*. His inferences were disputed by Mr Furnivall and Mr A. J. Ellis.

TWENTIETH MEETING, Friday, December 10, 1875.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Director announced that the following Members had joined the Society since last Meeting :—

Tom Taylor.
D. Bikelas.

Sydney Williams.
John Thirlwall University.

Dr Ingleby then gave the interpretation that Mr E. A. Brae, of Guernsey, and himself, put on the Dedication to Shakspere’s *Sonnets*, which was this :—

1. A Dedication

“ To the onlie Begetter (sole Author) of these Sonnets, Mr W. H. [W. S. (Brae), or W. S. H. (Ingleby)]. ”

2. An Epistle Dedicatory

"All happinesse [on earth] & that Eternitie promised" [in heaven].

"By [for or to] our everliving Poet [=W. Shakspere] Wisheth the well-wishing Adventurer [Thomas Thorpe] in setting forth [=publishing]." T. T. [Thomas Thorpe.]

This reading was unhesitatingly rejected by Mr Furnivall, Dr Nicholson, Mr Matthew, and other speakers.

Dr Ingleby then discussed Shakspere's use of the verb *season*, showing that the poet used it in five distinct senses. Dr I. believed that two "seasons" from two different roots were now confounded in one.

Mr Furnivall then read a Paper on the play of *Edward III*. He gave a short sketch of the sources of the fine scene between the King and the Countess of Salisbury, namely, Froissart's anecdote, and the expansion of it as seen in Bandello's Novel, and Painter's translation of Boiaistueau, which ends with making the Countess Edward's Queen. But from the Italian's additions of the Secretary confidant, the unwilling pandering of the Countess's Father, and the more willing of her Mother's, with the Countess offering to stab herself with a knife or let the King kill her with his sword,—the English Dramatist had borrowed largely. After quoting Joshua Barnes's refutation of the story, and dwelling on the strong external evidence against Shakspere's authorship of Act II. of the Play, Mr Furnivall said that though he greatly desired to accept Mr Tennyson's judgment that the act was Shakspere's, and thus add the noble figure of the Countess to Shakspere's women, he could not convince himself that the Act was Shakspere's work, though it was certainly worthy of him in his younger days. (See p. c—cii of Mr Furnivall's Introduction to the *Leopold Shakspere*, Cassells, 1877.)

TWENTY-FIRST MEETING, Friday, January 14, 1876.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

THE Members reported to have joined since the 10th ult. were, Thos Beggs and L. E. Shaw.

The first Paper for this evening was read by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., being "Gruach: Lady Macbeth," by Lady Charlemont (printed below, p. 194), and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to the writer and to Mr Furnivall, who afterwards contested the view taken in the Paper.

Mr W. J. Craig then read a Paper consisting of rough Notes on *Cymbeline*, intended to show that *Cymbeline* and the *Winter's Tale* belonged to the same period of Shakspere's work.

The thanks of the Members were given to Mr Craig. Mr Ellis, Dr Todhunter, and Mr Furnivall took part in the discussion of Mr Craig's views.

TWENTY-SECOND MEETING, Friday, February 11, 1876.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Members reported to have joined the Society since January 14, were the Countess of Charlemont, the Rev. W. E. Buckley, and H. S. Johnson, and the Watkinson Library.

The Treasurer's Cash Account for 1875, as audited by Messrs A. J. Abbott and H. Smart, was read, and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Auditors for their services.

The Cash Account showed that the past year's Subscriptions (less Agent's commission) amounted to £577 19s.; that the Society's expenditure in 1875 was £571 5s.; and that the balance carried to 1876 was £46 10s. 9d.

Mr Furnivall announced that the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Derby, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, following the example of H. R. H. Prince Leopold, had promised to pay the cost of such Tract on the Social Condition of England during Shakspeare's time as Mr Furnivall might choose. Mr Furnivall had accordingly chosen William Stafford's Statement and Discussion of the Social Grievances of England in 1581, entitled, "A Compendious or briefe Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen in these our dayes: which although they are in some part vaine & fruolous, yet they are all by way of dialogues thoroughly debated & discussed," and had sent it to the Printer with directions that it should be set up at once.

Mr Furnivall proposed that the vote of thanks to Lord Derby for his gift should be put off till the copies of the Tract were issued, as in the case of Prince Leopold's gift.

Dr Todhunter read a paper on "Hamlet and Ophelia." He observed that there is more truth than at first appears in Mr Ruskin's assertion that Ophelia's weakness is the cause of Hamlet's failure—this at least plays an important part in the tragedy of his character. All through, he just fails to become master of circumstances; standing like a man who tumbles over a precipice, and whom a single twig caught at the right moment might save. As to the question of his madness, Dr Todhunter pronounced him not *mad* in the popular sense. The equilibrium of his mind is, however, seriously disturbed, and there are moments in which he transgresses the boundaries of sanity. There is little or no deliberate feigning of madness in his conduct. In the terrible mental excitement which follows the advent of the ghost, Hamlet seeks relief in the sympathy of Ophelia; but he is denied access to her, and his letters are repelled. At length he makes a desperate effort to bring himself *en rapport* with her, and the silent interview takes place which she describes to her father (Act ii. Sc. 1). The perfect silence of the interview is noteworthy. It is not

the silence of sympathy, but the inarticulate silence of two unsympathetic natures. These lovers stretch their hands over a gulf, yearning for love yet unable to love one another; unable to touch each other, much less to embrace.

In Act ii. Sc. 2 Ophelia becomes the mere tool of the king and Polonius, to "pluck out the heart" of Hamlet's "mystery," the weakness of her character being thus palpably revealed. Her character is a frail and passive one. She is without capacity for passion or for development, and is incapable of intelligent sympathy. She does not, indeed, intentionally *betray* her lover, she only *fails* him, innocently and unconsciously.

Hamlet has now pronounced sentence of divorce against Ophelia, and takes Horatio to his heart instead. Love has proved a delusion, but friendship still remains. The cruel insults to Ophelia during the play-scene are a part of his frenzied cynicism with regard to women. The death of Polonius is caused by an altogether irrational and instinctive act, which closely resembles that of an ordinary madman; and in it Hamlet steps across the threshold of sanity.

In conclusion, Dr Todhunter gave it as his opinion that the hard cynicism displayed by Hamlet respecting the deaths of Polonius, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern, his foolish trust in a false Providence, and the cunning methods of action he adopts, are all evidence of the breakdown of a noble mind.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Dr Todhunter for his Paper.

In the Discussion that followed, Mr Furnivall and Mr Matthew joined, and Dr Todhunter replied.

TWENTY-THIRD MEETING, Friday, March 10, 1876.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *V.P., in the Chair.*

THE following new Members were announced: J. F. Rotton, the Rev. T. J. Walton, B. Septimus Brigg, W. H. Wilson, and F. Wedmore.

Messrs Joseph Bright, Frank Marshall, and F. Wedmore were reported to have been elected Members of Committee.

The Director announced that Mrs Bidder would give £10 to defray the cost of some small reprint to add to the series illustrating the social condition of England in Shakspere's time.¹ He also stated that he hoped to be able to arrange with the Rev. A. B. Grosart for additional tracts of this sort at slight cost.

The Director further announced that Mr Peter Bayne would read a Paper next Session on the Character of Brutus.

The death of Colonel Cunningham having deprived the Society of the Paper intended for this evening, a Paper was read by the Director

¹ Taken instead, for part of Prof. Spalding's *Letter.*

on "The Links between Shakspere's Early Plays and the backward and forward reach of his late Middle-time Comedies."

Taking the chronological order of the plays as given in his Introduction to Gervinus's *Commentaries*, Mr Furnivall showed that each play threw out tendrils round its predecessor and successor, so that up, at least, till *Measure for Measure*, the last play he dealt with, you have a series of links of subject, treatment, tone, expression, joining all the plays into one chain. He said that this method showed if a work had been wrongly placed, and brought it into its true place. He had wrongly put *Venus and Adonis* first in Shakspere's works, and had now had to move it down to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Lucrece*, for reasons which he gave. In treating the Middle-time Comedies, he showed that they reacht back to the early ones, and that in the succession he had assigned to them, while these comedies stretched a hand forward also to the dramas of the fourth period. He also contended that Shakspere's sonnets and plays were mutually interpretative, specially on the point of friendship, as well between men as women¹.

The thanks of the Members were voted to Mr Furnivall.

Mr Ellis, Mr Hetherington, Mr Matthew, Mr Bayne and Dr Nicholson gave their views upon the above Paper.

TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING, Friday, April 28, 1876.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE following new Members were reported to have joined the Society since the last Meeting:—

Wm. Ridgeway.	Dr C. H. Higgins.
Eugene Casserley.	Stevens and Haynes.
Dr Robt Carruthers.	A. H. Littleton.
Thos. Baines.	The Hon. Roden Noel.

The Director announced the loss which had befallen the Society in the death of Mr Richard Simpson, a member of the Committee, and spoke warmly of Mr Simpson's amiability and kindliness, and of the value of the Papers he had contributed to the Society's Transactions.

The following resolution was then unanimously passed, viz.:— That this Meeting of the New Shakspere Society desires to express to Mrs Richard Simpson its condolence with her in the great bereavement which she has recently sustained. And this Meeting at the same time wishes to record its own sense of the great loss suffered by the Society and by the cause of Shakspere learning, in the death of one of the Society's earliest and most valued workers.

¹ This Paper is incorporated in Mr Furnivall's Introduction to the *Leopold Shakspere*, 1877.

Professor Delius having been unable to send by to-night his promised Paper on the Epic Elements in Shakspere's Plays, Mr F. Marshall read the first portion of a Paper he had prepared on the character of *Othello* and some of its resemblances to that of *Hamlet*. He called special attention to the overlooked point of the effect of Othello's epileptic fit on his mental condition.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Marshall for this Paper.

The Director, Mr P. Bayne, Dr Cartwright, and Mr J. Knight spoke on Mr Marshall's Paper.

The Director reported that Dr Nicholson's proposed Paper on the *Sonnets* would have to be replaced by one of Dr N.'s on the approximate date of *Othello*, by a Paper by Mr Foggo on Banquo, and by a Paper by Dr Nicholson on the borrowings from *Venus and Adonis* and Ben Jonson, in Baron's *Pocula Custalia*.

TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING, Friday, May 12, 1876.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., in the Chair.

MRS E. MARX, Mr H. Burdach, and Mr N. D. Chubb were reported to have become Members since the last Meeting.

Read, a letter from Mrs Richard Simpson, in acknowledgment of the vote of sympathy with her passed on the 28th ult.

With reference to Shakspere work in hand by Mr Simpson at his death, the Director stated that he had ascertained with much satisfaction that Mr Simpson had finished all the MS. for his two volumes of *The School of Shakspere*, and that the work was to be published in October next (delayed till March, 1877).

The Director also reported that Norden's Map of London, to be issued to Members in a few months in Harrison's *England*, Part I, was at last in hand.

The first Paper for this evening was 'On the approximate date of *Othello*, as deduced from Marston's *Parasitaster* or *Fauone*', by Dr B. Nicholson.

The thanks of the Meeting were given to Dr Nicholson as reader and author of this Paper; and Mr Furnivall, Dr Cartwright, and Mr Littledale expressed their views thereon.

A second Paper was read by Dr Nicholson 'On the Borrowings from *Venus and Adonis*, and from Ben Jonson in Baron's *Pocula Custalia*', 1640, and thanks were duly voted to Dr Nicholson.

Mr Algernon Foggo next read a Paper 'On the Character of Banquo' (printed below, p. 200), and the thanks of the Society were presented to Mr Foggo.

In the Discussion which followed, the following Members spoke : Mr Furnivall, Mr Bayne, and Dr Nicholson.

TWENTY-SIXTH MEETING, Friday, June 9, 1876.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Hon. Secretary reported that the following new Members had joined the Society since the last Meeting :

W. A. B. Coolidge, Captain Herbert Everitt, Miss Lizzie Morris, Mrs M. S. Peto, R. W. Coe.

The Paper for this evening (printed below, p. 314) was 'On the Political Element in Massinger,' by S. R. Gardiner, Esq., by whom it was also read.

The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously given to Mr Gardiner for his Paper.

Mr Furnivall, Mr Hales, Mr P. Bayne, Mr F. Wedmore, took part in the Discussion which followed.

Before the Meeting separated for the recess, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Council of University College for the use of the Room in which the Meetings of the Society are held.

FOURTH SESSION.

TWENTY-SEVENTH MEETING, Friday, October 13, 1876.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *V.P., in the Chair.*

THE Director read a letter from Mr Richard Grant White explaining that, on account of absence in the country, he was quite unable to attend this evening, as had been expected.

The Hon. Sec. read the following list of Members who had joined the Society since the 9th June last :—

Chas. C. Seton. Jonas Levy. Miss Emily Callwell.

Henry Ripley. Willmirt Rogers. Miss Annie Callwell.

Henry Brown. Rev. H. P. Stokes. Regd. Hanson.

English Seminar : Royal Univ. Lib., Breslau.

This being the 1st evening of the 4th Session of the Society, the Director reviewed the work which had thus far been done. He further mentioned that, for the 5th or "Contemporary Drama" Series of Publications, *Edward III* would be edited by Mr Walter D. Stone and himself.

Mr Furnivall also referred, with regret, to the seriously failing health of Dr Nicholson, one of the Society's most accomplished

Editors, and to the fact that Mr P. A. Daniel's valuable services would also shortly be lost to the Society owing to his intended emigration to Australia.

The Director further announced with much regret the retirement of Mr Wm Payne from the office of Treasurer, owing to his failing health and his proposed removal from London, and stated that Mr H. Courthope Bowen, the Head Master of the Grocers' Company's Schools, Hackney Downs, had consented to be Treasurer.

The Paper for this evening,—“On the 2nd and 3rd Parts of *Henry VI*, and their originals, *The Contention* and *True Tragedy*,” by Miss Jane Lee,—was then read by the Director, and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to Miss Lee and to Mr Furnivall respectively.

The Director read remarks by Mr Grant White written in anticipation of the views of Miss Lee; and Mr Ellis, Mr Bayne, Mr Furnivall, and Dr Cartwright spoke upon points raised in the Paper.

TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING, Friday, Nov. 10, 1876.

F. D. MATTHEW, Esq., in the Chair.

THE following additional Members since Oct. 13 were announced : F. J. Evans, The Rev. H. O. Coxe, Professor Johnson, H. F. Walters, and Geo. Andrews.

The Director reported at this Meeting the gifts of Texts, &c., which have recently been made to the Society, and the thanks of the Members were unanimously voted to—

Rich. Johnson, Esq., for his gift of Part 1 (and Part 2 to follow) of the Revised Edition of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

	£ s.
The Earl of Derby,	for <i>Stafford</i> .
Mrs Bidder,	" 10 0
Harold Littledale, Esq.,	" 10 0
The Rev. A. Stopford Brooke,	4 4 } towards cost of
F. W. Cossens, Esq.,	}
Miss Phipson,	} Spalding's "Letter."
F. J. Furnivall, Esq.,	} for the "Tell Troth" volume.

Mr Furnivall also reported as follows with regard to Publications, &c., of the Society :—

That owing to the failure of Dr Nicholson's health, the Parallel Texts of *Henry V*, which he was to have edited, would now be edited by Mr P. A. Daniel; who had most kindly agreed to put off his journey to Australia till he had finished this edition. Mr Daniel had also taken up the edition of the Doubtful Plays for G. Bell and Sons, which Dr Nicholson had been obliged to throw up.

That next year's issue of books would, if funds should allow, consist of (in addition to 'Harrison,' Part 1) a thin part (2) of 'Harrison' with a view of the North side of Cheapside in 1638 now in preparation; 'Stubbes,' Part II; and *Henry V*, Parallel Texts.

That the Reprint of the late Professor Spalding's *Letter* on the *Two Noble Kinsmen* and the Revised Edition of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, which are about to be issued to Members (after unforeseen delay), would be the last publications the Committee would be able to issue for 1876.

That Dr Nicholson's intended Paper for the 8th of next Month would be replaced by—I. A Paper by Mr Henry B. Wheatley, "On Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*." II. A Paper by Frank Marshall, Esq.; and III. A Note by E. G. Dogget, Esq., on the Expression "By holy" in the "*Passionate Pilgrim*."

That as an Appendix to the Transactions, 1875-6, would be issued in a condensed form the late Rev. J. L. Halpin's tract on the Dramatic Unities of Shakspere, and Professor Wilson's papers which called it forth. These treated most interestingly of Shakspere's two times in his plays,—one seemingly long, as in Antonio's three Months' Bond in the '*Merchant*', whereas the action of the play took up, in fact, only two days.

The Director also asked for a Volunteer to translate, for the Transactions, the 2nd part of Prof. Delius's Paper on the Narrative Element in Shakspere's Plays, and Miss Eleanor Marx kindly undertook to make the translation.

The Director further stated that Prof. Corson intended to come over from the United States to read his promised Paper before the Society in June next.

The Paper for this evening—"The character of Hamlet not entitled to the admiration often bestowed upon it"—was by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., by whom it was also read. Mr Furnivall believed that, as most folk got their idea of Satan from Milton and then said it was from the Bible, so many made their own ideal of Hamlet, and then declared it was Shakspere's, though there was no foundation whatever for it in Shakspere's text. Folk pitied Hamlet, then they loved him, then they glorified him, and turned a shirker of duty, a do-nothing, a putter-forward of specious subterfuges, into a Christian warrior and hero. Nothing was too good for him in the eyes of Werder and several English critics. Mr Furnivall followed Hamlet somewhat pitilessly through his whole career, from his mooning and spooning, instead of watching and acting, after his father's death; through his weakness after weakness, and his subterfuge-full excuses for them, in staying at Court, in vowing that he would "sweep to his revenge," and then making notes on his tablets, saying he would go pray, dawdling, turn-

ing stage-manager, brutally jeering at Ophelia, quoting ballads and calling for a tune—like an overgrown schoolboy when his trick has succeeded—instead of killing the king at the end of the play; then mouthing rant about drinking hot blood, &c., and, of course, shirking his duty again directly after; then pretending that Heaven had made him stab Polonius, over whose corpse his brutal jeers must come again; still dawdling when he returned to Denmark, straying into graveyards, engaging in fencing-matches—anything to shirk his duty; at last letting Claudius's own plot, not his, work out the king's destruction, Hamlet at last stabbing him, not because he had murdered his brother, but because (1) he had poisoned Hamlet himself; (2) because he was “incestuous, murderous,” therefore “follow my mother.” Mr Furnivall contended that whatever virtues Hamlet had, he basely and persistently shirked his duty, which was just a bore to him, and made mean subterfuges to excuse himself. Even at last, it was not as a duty to his father that he killed his uncle; and his friend, Horatio, put forth no such pretence in his behalf. He spoke

“ Of accidental judgments, casual slayings . . .
And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
Fall'n on the inventors' heads.”

Yet we all pity, nay like Hamlet. This is because he typifies each one of us. Weak, shirkers of duty, we all are: but in so far as we are so, we are not to be admired; we are to be despised. The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously voted to Mr Furnivall.

Messrs Knight, Pickersgill, Bayne, Matthew, Todhunter and Furnivall took part in the discussion which arose; some written remarks were also read by Mrs Bayne.

The Director further read a letter from Mr H. H. Furness, of Philadelphia, stating that he agreed in condemning the vacillation of Hamlet.

TWENTY-NINTH MEETING, Friday, December 8, 1876.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Director announced that Dr Ingleby had kindly offered to present to the Society the 2nd Edition of his “Centurie of Prayse,” an offer which had at once been gratefully accepted in the name of the Members.

Mr H. F. B. Wheatley read “Notes on Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour.*” Mr Wheatley gave an account of the alterations made in the Quarto of the play by the second edition in the Folio. He showed that these changes were only in names, scenes, and lines—though with large and judicious cuttings-out in the last act—but did not affect the scheme and motives of the play. He contended

that the first Quarto was not surreptitious, but plainly genuine. Mr Furnivall, recurring to the point of the date of the Prologue, which Dr B. Nicholson had originally intended to treat at the meeting, argued that the only lines which could allude to Shakspere were the "York and Lancaster's long jars" (*Henry VI*), and "chorus wafts you o'er the seas" (*Henry V*): he did not believe in the "storm" and "monsters" referring to *The Tempest*. As the play was produced in 1598, and *Henry V* not till 1599, either the Prologue was written after the first cast of the play, or it did not allude to *Henry V*. He could not allow that the Prologue, if after 1598, must have mentioned the revision of the play.

The thanks of the Meeting were given to Mr Wheatley.

Mr Doggett then proposed to read "by holy" in l. 343 of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, as an exclamation, "by the Holy," like Foxe's "by roode" for "by the roode." Mr Furnivall proposed to read l. 302, "As well as Fancy's partial might," taking "might" as a substantive.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Doggett and Mr Furnivall for their respective suggestions.

Mr Wheatley spoke upon the emendations proposed.

In place of an intended Paper by Mr Marshall, Miss Marx then read a translation which she had made of the 2nd part of a Paper by Prof. Delius on 'Shakspere's use of Narrative in his Plays' in continuation of that already printed in the Society's Transactions, 1875-6, Part 1. The Paper dealt with the English Historical and the Roman Plays, and showed how the poet's skill in employing the narrative element in his dramas improved as he advanced from his first period to his third.

Thanks were voted to Prof. Delius and Miss Marx, and the Director mentioned that Prof. Delius had been much gratified by the able way in which his Paper had been rendered into English. He also stated that this Paper would follow Part 1 on the same subject in the printed Transactions. (See p. 332 below.)

The speakers upon the above Paper were Mr Furnivall and Mr F. D. Matthew.

The Members who have joined the Society during the past month were reported to be as under:—

J. T. La Brooy.	Rev. M. Creighton.
Stephen Austin.	University Library, Halle.
John Barnett.	Royal Institution.
Walter J. Marshall.	Madame Van De Weyer.
Queen's College, Cork.	Miss Catherine Drew.
S. D. Law.	Thos. Wm. Pickering.

Income and Expenditure of the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1875.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balances in hand, Jan. 1, 1875:												
Cash at Bank	32	18	9						
Petty Cash	6	18	0	39	16	9			
Members' Subscriptions (less Agents' Commission)	577	19	0			

PAYMENTS.

<i>Printing:</i>				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Messrs Childs, for <i>Transactions, Pt. I.</i> (balance) and Part II.	..			214	10	6						
" " " <i>Romeo & Juliet,</i> Q.1 and Q.2, and Revised Edition (balance)	..	..	..	153	17	7						
" " " <i>Allusions, Part I.</i> (balance)	..	..	..						
" " " <i>Henry V.</i> on acct.	..	..	..	4	6	3						
" " " Papers for Meetings, Reports, Prospectuses, &c.	..	..	..	16	19	10						
<i>Binding, Postage, Carriage, Stationery, &c.</i>	..			40	5	10	430	0	0			
<i>Copying and Collating</i>	..	..	..						
Hon. Secretary's Clerk	..	..	..						
Members' Meetings (cost of)	..	..	..						
Balances in hand, Dec. 31, 1875:							95	19	6			
Petty Cash	..	..	..						
Cash at Bank..	..	..	..						
£617 15 9												
Examined and found correct,												
January 22 1877.												

A. J. ABBOTT,
H. SMART, } Auditors.

ARTHUR G. SNELGROVE, Hon. Sec.

Income and Expenditure of the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1876.

Compared with the Vouchers and found correct,

SAMUEL CLARK, JR., } Auditors.
NICHOLAS D. CHUBB, }

ARTHUR G. SNELGROVE, Hon. Sec.

VI.

NOTE UPON THE ELF-LOCKS IN *ROMEO AND JULIET*

(I. iv. 91 and 92).

BY J. WICKHAM LEGG, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at the 18th Meeting of the Society, held on Oct. 8, 1875.)

I HAVE little doubt that the Elf-locks described in the following lines are the appearance known to physicians as the *plica polonica*¹:

And bakes the *Elf-locks* in foule sluttish haires,
Which, once untangled, much misfortune bodes.

The reasons which I have for this belief are the following :

i. The *plica* is thought to be due to some supernatural cause.

ii. The *plica* is due simply to lack of cleanliness.² After long discussion, this seems to be granted by nearly all physicians of the present time. This is not the place for giving reasons for this statement, but those who wish to inquire further into the subject may find all about the *plica*, looked at from a medical point of view, in Hebra's *Hautkrankheiten*. (In Virchow's *Handb. d. sp. Path. u. Ther.*

¹ My search amongst travels in Poland for a description of the *plica* has been hitherto fruitless. I have looked through Hakluyt's 'Collection,' as far as it pertains to Russia, and find nothing ; neither can I find anything in the Hakluyt Society's publications. I have also looked through all they say they have in the Bodleian of Travels in Poland published before the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, but to no purpose.

² Cf. *Lear*, II. iii. 10 :

Whiles I may 'scape,

I will preserve myself : and am bethought
To take the basest and most poorest shape,
That ever penury, in contempt of man,
Brought near to beast : my face I'll grime with filth ;
Blanket my loins ; *elf all my hair in knots* ;
And with presented nakedness out-face
The winds and persecutions of the sky.

Bd. III., Theil II., Lief. I., Erlangen, 1870, 2^{te} Auflage, p. 52.) The *plica* is common amongst savages all over the world, and amongst all who neglect cleansing and combing the hair. It is thus likely enough to have been common in England until the rise of Puritanism made cleanliness a virtue. Of this there is some evidence. Glisson (*De Rachitide*, Lond. 1650, Cap. I.) speaks of the *plica polonica*, together with other diseases, now known not to be new, as being sprung up within the last age. And in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1747, vol. xliv., Part II. p. 556, there is an account of a woman, affected with a *plica*, whose mother likewise suffered from the same disorder, and was born in 1645. This last date brings us near to Shakspere's time.

iii. The possession of a *plica* has been looked upon by the peasants for past ages as a sure guard against all kinds of evil. At the present day the same superstition prevails in the east of Europe. If, during a long illness, a *plica* form, the peasants believe that all will go well. It is a sure forerunner, so they think, of recovery. If cut off, or otherwise taken away, they look for madness, apoplexy, and every kind of evil. I have read of an unhappy lady in Hungary, who suffered from an incurable disorder, buying a *plica* at a great price from a peasant and concealing it in her head-dress as a charm or amulet. Sir Thomas Browne (*Pseudoxia Epidemica*, Lond., 1650, Sec. Ed., p. 226.) likewise speaks of "the fears of poling¹ *Elve-locks* or complicated haire of the head."

It will be thus seen that the Elf-locks correspond with the *plica* in all the particulars given: that they are due to some faery or supernatural influence; to foul sluttish habits, and in this Shakspere shows himself in advance of some physicians, even of our own day; and that their disentanglement bodes much misfortune. I do not think the comparison can be more complete.

Mr P. A. Daniel, in the Revised Edition of *Romeo and Juliet* published by our Society, prefers to read 'once entangled' instead of 'once untangled,' the reading of the first two Quarto Editions and of the Folio Edition, because it is the entanglement, and not the dis-

¹ polling, cutting off.

entanglement, which is inauspicious. I trust I have shown that if there be an allusion in these lines to the *plica polonica*, it is absolutely necessary to accept the early reading ‘untangled.’ If we accept ‘entangled’ as the reading, then we must reject any allusion under the name of ‘Elf-locks’ to the *plica*: for the entanglement of the *plica* boded no misfortune; it was a piece of great good fortune, which lasted for ever if the hairs did not become untangled.’

Oct. 8, 1875.

[*Scraps to fill up gaps.—F.*]

‘*brach*’: 1 *Hen. IV.*, III. i. 240. “And albeit some of this sort [Bloodhounds] in English be called *Brache*, in Scotish, *Ruche*, the cause thereof resteth in the she-sex, and not in the general kinde. For we Englishmen call Bitches belonging to the hunting kind of Dogs, by the tearms above mentioned.”—J. Cay’s *English Dogs*, in Topsell’s *Four-footed Beasts* (1607), p. 131, ed. 1658.

‘*buttons*’: “‘tis in his buttons ; he will carry ‘t” (Host, of young master Fenton winning sweet Anne Page).—*Merry Wives*, III. ii. 71.

I suspect a *double entendre* for the groundlings.¹ Compare also, “*Lappe, il culo gli fa lappe*, his taile makes **buttons**, his buttocks goes a twitter twatter.”—1598 ; Florio.

‘*Convey*’: the wise it call.—*Merry Wives*, I. iii. 32.

“*Inuolare*, to steale, to filch, to purloine, to pilfre, to conueigh away. *Inuolatore*, a theefe, a stealer, a filcher, a purloiner, a conueigher away.”—1598 ; Florio.

‘*England*’: *King John*, last three lines.

“I do maruel greatly how the Saxsons should conquerre Englond, for it is but a smalle contre to be compared to Englond ; for I think, if all the world were set against Englond, it might never be conquerid, they beyng treue within them selfe.”—1542-1547; Andrew Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge*, p. 164 ; ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. Text Soc. 1870.

‘*face painting*’: *L. L. Lost, Sonnets, &c.* There was then (as there is now) another reason why honest women shouldn’t paint. “*Pipkin*. The gentlewoman of the old house, that is as well known by the colour she lays on her cheeks, as an alehouse by the painting is laid on his lattice ; she that is, like *homo*, common to all men : she that is beholden to no trade, but lives of herself.”—1602 ; *How a man may choose a good Wife from a bad*. Dodsley, ix. 53. Compare Marston’s “I am not as well known by my wit as an alehouse by a red lattice.”—ib. p. 510.

¹ Another has been pointed out to me by a friend, in the ‘stake down’ of the *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii.

VII. GRUACH (LADY MACBETH),

BY THE COUNTESS OF CHARLEMONT.

(Read at the 21st Meeting of the Society, held January 14, 1876.)

It seems as if it would be mere repetition to say or to write more on the subject of Macbeth and his wife than has been already said and written. Their characters have been put under the microscope of criticism and handled in every possible way.

And yet there are a few remarks relative to Lady Macbeth that I do not remember having met with.

Sir Bernard Burke, in the beginning of his *Peerage*, gives an interesting account of the Royal Houses of England and Scotland. In the commencement of the latter, we find that in the eleventh century Macbeth married the Lady Gruach, granddaughter of King Kenneth IV., who had been deposed in the year 1003 by Malcolm, son of Kenneth III. This Malcolm was succeeded by his grandson Duncan, who was murdered in the year 1039 by his cousin Macbeth, who then ascended the throne of Scotland.

We may suppose that the quarrels about the succession to the throne took place between kinsmen more or less nearly related. May not there have been a relationship between Kenneth IV. and Duncan? And may not one of the strange likenesses that come and go in families, have appeared between Kenneth's son and Duncan, causing Lady Macbeth to say of the latter, "Had he not resembled my father as he slept, I had don't?" And had not hatred to the man whose grandsire had not only deposed hers—depriving her father of his throne—but had also burnt her first husband in his castle, with fifty of his friends, and slain her only brother and her second husband's (Macbeth's) father,¹ anything to say to Duncan's fate, though

¹ Clark and Wright's Clarendon Press Edition, 1871, p. xlii.

Shakspere has not weakened her primary motive by hinting at her secondary one?

Mrs Jameson—like many others—gives Lady Macbeth credit for home affections. We learn from Gervinus, that German “Romanticists have made Lady Macbeth a heroine of virtue.” Others have looked upon her and upon her husband as an ancient Mr and Mrs Manning. The question is—Was Lady Macbeth only a woman, or, very woman and devil?

There may be a meaning in our poet—of whom great Goethe says “Nature prophesied through Shakspere”¹—that would explain something of her character. Many good qualities, when carried to excess, topple over and become faults. Generosity turns into extravagance, economy into stinginess, unselfishness becomes weakness; and an affectionate disposition . . . well! . . . has to be wretched. Does the Tragedy of Macbeth suggest that the familiar household affections may be turned into the handmaidens of Sin? Gruach had evidently loved her father: a look on a sleeping face that reminded her of him ‘shook’ her ‘fell purpose’ and stopped her ‘keen knife.’ She had been a tender mother; but the essence of her being was devoted to her husband. Gervinus describes this devotion in a masterly manner. All for Macbeth;—Gruach’s lord—a throne won for him, and a world—ay, a heaven—well lost for her. She sees, feels, acts, but for him. Remember the age in which she lived. The letter telling of the witches and of their prophecy, seemed to her no more than the foreshadowing of Destiny. Then after her reading of Macbeth’s letter, comes her incantation to the Powers of Evil. The die is cast. The man she loves is to be ‘King hereafter;’ and to the beckoning hand of Fate she blindly bows herself. The throne for Macbeth by the sacrifice of a life: so be it! She looks not beyond. Afterwards, when to secure his personal safety, her husband flies to other crimes, her soul-rending cry is—fearing to hear the answer—“What’s to be done?” The parts are changed. She now is passive; Macbeth active. All through the ordeal of the Coronation banquet, she bears up bravely; but, seeing the weakness of her husband, her spirit begins to fail.

¹ Lewes’s “Life of Goethe.” Translation of Goethe’s Oration on Shakspere.

See the end of the fourth scene of the third act. From this on, the great guilty heart sinks till we come to the ‘Sleep-Walking scene.’ Then, it is my belief that the strong brain had given way under the mental tortures endured by Gruach. It seems to me that the whole of the first scene of the fifth act is a *résumé* of all Lady Macbeth’s part in the tragedy. And who can doubt but that in that scene she believed herself to be in Hell ?

We will give the *pendants*—if the expression be allowed—to several speeches of Gruach’s in the previous parts of the Play.

Act I. sc. v.

... “Come thick night,
And fall thee in the dunkest smoke of
hell.”
“ Which shall to all our days and nights
to come
Give solely sovereign sway and master-
dom.”

Act II. sc. ii.

... “ If he do bleed.” . .

“ My hands are of your colour: but I
shame
To wear a heart so white.”
—“ Go get some water,
And wash this filthy witness from your
hand.”
... “ I hear a knocking
At the south entry: retire we to our
chamber :
A little water cleans us of this deed :
How easy is it then? Your constancy
Hath left you unattended.—Hark!
more knocking:
Get on your nightgown, lest occasion
call us,
And show us to the watchers :— Be not
lost
So poorly in your thoughts.

Act III. sc. ii.

“ Things without remedy
Should be without remove: what’s
done, is done.”

How Gruach’s fearful visions are haunted by Macbeth’s speech
(Act II. scene ii.)—

“ Whence is that knocking?
How is’t with me when every noise appals me?

Act V. sc. i.

“ Hell is murky !” . . .
... “ What need we care who knows it,
When none can call our power to
account ?”

“ Yet who would have thought the old
man to
Have had so much blood in him ? ”
“ What will these hands no’er be clean ?
No more o’ that, my lord no more o’
that: You mar all with this starting.”
“ Wash your hands, put on your
nightgown; look not so pale.”

“ To bed, to bed; there’s knocking
at the gate: come, come, come, come.”

“ What’s done, cannot be undone : ”

What hands are here ! Ha ! they pluck out mine eyes !
Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand ? No ; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnardine,
Making the green—one red."

Mrs Siddons—so says Gervinus—believed Lady Macbeth to have been a fair beauty ; and I have heard that a traditional picture of her existed years ago in an ancient Scottish Castle, belonging to a descendant, it was said, of Macbeth. It was the portrait of a small fair woman, with blue eyes, rather red (weak-looking?) about the lids.

It was the great wish of Rachel the mighty to act Lady Macbeth. When told that Mrs Siddons had exhausted all ideas about the part—especially with respect to the Sleep-Walking scene—she replied, “Ah ! mais j'ai une idée moi—je lécherais ma main.” Does not that make one think of Ugolino when he “La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto ?” It would be interesting to inquire whether Shakspere ever read Dante—Shakspeare who *harmonized* so many old Italian stories in his Plays ! He must have known much of Italy. Did the *Inferno*, and the early reminiscences of its ‘perduta gente,’ suggest to him the Sleep-Walking scene ? We believe that Gruach, ‘after life’s fitful fever,’ ‘sleeps well.’ The last we hear of her is at the time of her death : “A cry within of women.” She was not all evil. Her own sex and her servants mourned for her.

MR FURNIVALL. I think Lady Charlemont’s suggestion of a possible family likeness between Duncan and Lady Macbeth’s father an interesting one. But as to the poet’s knowing that Lady Macbeth and her husband had good cause for taking vengeance on Duncan, we must recollect that Shakspere took his *Macbeth* story from *Holinshed*, the great authority for British History in his day, and that there is nothing in *Holinshed* about the murder of either Lady Macbeth’s or Macbeth’s relatives by Malcolm, Duncan’s grandfather.

The notion that Lady Macbeth stirrd, nay forc’t, Macbeth to his villainous murder, to gratify his ambition only, and not her own too, is so in the teeth of Shakspere’s authority, Holinshed, “but speciallie his wife lay sore upon him to attempt the thing, as she that was very ambitious, burning in unquenchable desire to beare the name of queen.”—*Scottish Chronicle*, i. 340, ed. 1805, and is, to me, so flatly contradictory to Shakspere’s plain revelation of Lady Macbeth’s tigrish nature, and her own words,

I have given suck; and know
How tender 't is to love the babe that milks me:
I would, while it was smiling in my face,
Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,
And dash'd the brains out, had I so sworn,
As you have done to this.

Macb.

If we should fail,—

Lady M.

We fail.

But screw your courage to the sticking place,
And we 'll not fail.

He that's coming
Must be provided for: and you shall put
This night's great business into my dispatch;
Which shall, to all *our* nights and days to come,
Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom.

that I don't think the point worth arguing¹. Any one desiring to spare Lady Macbeth, as Chaucer did Cresseye, "for very routh," may make excuses for her; but to ask us to think that love for her husband was her only motive, is going too far.

'cankered,' adj. spiteful: *John*, II. 194; 1 *Hen. IV.*, II. iii. 137.
"For, in writing of prologues, he bestowes his labour to a wrong end, who doeth not tell you the matter of the comedy, but answereth to the railing speeches of the malitious *cankred* [malevoli] old Poet."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 4, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'heels': lay by the heels. *Hen. VIII.*, V. iv. 83. "Quo iure, quaque iniuriam, me in pistrinum dabit vsque ad necem. By right or wrong, no matter how, he wil lay me by the heele: he will lodge me in a faire paire of stocks."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 20; ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'Inn': Take my ease in my inn. 1 *Hen. IV.*, III. iii. 93.

"but in myn In, or euer I toke my eace [orig. to my cace], to walke about, it did me best please." i

? 1536—40. *The Pilgrims Tale*, l. 17, p. 77, of F. J. Furnivall's ed. of Francis Thynne's *Animadversions*, 1875.

'Teeth, in despite of the': *Merry Wives*, V. v. 133. "I will keepe this wench in despite of all your teethes [Ego istam inuitis omnibus]."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 277 (1st ed. 1598); "the women I bought, he hath led away from me in despite of my teeth."—ib. p. 229.

¹ Lady Charlemont writes in answer, "Of course Lady Macbeth had no objection to share the throne she helped her husband to get. As to the expression 'our nights and days,' married people usually use the first person plural."

‘shrewd turn’: *All’s Well*, III. v. 71. “Then mystresse, my master hath one shrewd turne done him more then he had.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 233, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598). “Vnlesse I deceiue my selfe, I shall goe neare to haue a shrewde turne, [haud multum à me aberit infortunium]: all the shifts that I haue are now driuen into so narrowe a straignt by this thing: except I finde out some way that the olde man may not knowe that this is his sonnes loue.” p. 235.

‘swabber’: *Tu. Night*, I. v. 217; *Temp.*, II. ii. 48. “Marruffino, the yoongest prentise in a house, one that is put to all druggerie [drudgery], a swobber in a ship.”—1598; Florio.

‘swaggerer’: 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 81, 83, 91, 104, 105, 117. “Masnadiero, a ruffler, a swash-buckler, a swaggerer, a high way theefe, a hackster.”—1598; Florio.

‘tittle-tattle’: *Winter’s Tale*, IV. iv. 248.

“Faggiolata, Fagiolata, a flim-flam tale, as women tell when they shale peason, which hath neither head nor foote, nor rime nor reason; a flap with a foxe-taile: court holie water, a tittle-tattle, or such.”—1598; Florio.

‘whist’: *Tempest*, I. ii. 379.

“Houische. (An Interiection whereby silence is imposed) husht, whist, ist, not a word for your life.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘Wittenburg’: *Hamlet*, I. ii. 113, 119, 164, 168.

“Out of Denmarke a man may go in to Saxsony. The chefe cyte or town of Saxsony is called *Witzelburg*, [Wittenburg,] which is a vniuersite.”—1542, 1547; Andrew Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge*, p. 164; ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

‘atonement,’ union, reconciliation. “But now I trust from henceforth there shall be perfect attonement and love between us for ever, Thais [æternam inter nos gratiam fore, Thais].”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 174, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘baked meats’: *Hamlet*. “Patisserie: f. (All kind of) pies or baked meats; pasterie worke; also, the making of past-meats.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘attent,’ adj.: *Hamlet*, I. ii. 193. “Animus adverte: Marke; be ye attent; giue eare; vnderstand yee, hearken.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 4, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘chat,’ sb.: *L. L. Lost*, IV. iii. 284. “Iuveniet orationem. He will finde you chat: he will want no words. He will diuide matter of talk. He will not be nonplus.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 41, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘conditioned’: *Merch. of Ven.*, III. ii. 295. Conveniunt mores. We be both alike conditioned: our manners be one.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 75, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

VIII. ON THE CHARACTER OF BANQUO.

BY ALGERNON FOGGO, M.A., CAME.

(Read at the 25th Meeting of the Society, held on May 12, 1876.)

THE whole of the part of Banquo might be printed on a page of moderate size ; and yet within such narrow limits many features of character are not merely indicated, but strongly and clearly defined.

All these : honour, magnanimity, piety, valour, courtesy, tenderness of heart, an observant love of nature, calm judgment, and practical wisdom are the attributes of Banquo ; at the same time he is no impossible monster of perfection, but pre-eminently human.

Macbeth and Banquo, generals of the armies of Duncan, king of Scotland, are, fresh from victory, leading home their troops. In friendly companionship they are passing over a wild and barren heath. They are about to encounter the three witches, the suggesters of evil, whose prophetic utterances are to amaze the mind of Macbeth, to perplex him with the riddles of fixed fate and free will, and by help of his lust of power and his wife's irresistible will to draw him on to achieve the success of an usurping tyrant, and the moral ruin of a despairing sinner.

Macbeth's first words, uttered before he has perceived the presence of the witches, give some hint of his imagination having been already newly stirred. Perturbations of the sky, more than usually impressive even in his land of cloudy hills, prompt the remark :

“ So foul and fair a day I have not seen ! ”

Banquo's present mood of mind, though he is a keen observer of nature, contrasts at once with Macbeth's. He is entirely calm ; his imaginative faculty quite at rest ; and, more concerned to know the length of the road that lies before him than careful to respond to his

companion with his usual high-bred courtesy, he inquires: "How far is it called to Forres?" Yet his mind is on the alert: he first espies the weird sisters, and then he at once proceeds to investigate the apparition. His manner of so doing is remarkable for coolness, and a sort of penetrative sagacity at first only slightly mingled with anything of awe; and the spirit of calm investigation, which even the strange salutations of the witches have but little disturbed, fully returns to him on their disappearance. He then sets himself to examine his own and Macbeth's common condition of bewilderment:

"Were such things here as we do speak about?
Or have we eaten of the insane root
Which takes the reason prisoner?"

Indeed, though undoubtedly perplexed by the apparition, he is disposed almost to jest at the words of the prophets; while Macbeth begins to review them at first with unchecked expression of deep interest, and then with only an affectation of indifference:

"Macb. Your children shall be kings.
Ban. You shall be king.
Macb. And Thane of Cawdor too, *went it not so?*
Ban. To the self-same tune and words."

Banquo's calmness and self-possession do not, however, denote indifference. Far from uninterested in the prophecy of royal dignity with which Macbeth has been greeted, he conjures the sisters to foretell *his* future also; but here his high tone of moral calm, as well as the serenity of judgment already manifested, further contrast with the condition of Macbeth, whom the predictions of the hags have so taken possession of, that he "seems rapt withal." Banquo conjures them "*in the name of truth*," and "neither begs nor fears their favours nor their hate;" evincing that royalty of nature which afterwards made Macbeth's "fears in him stick deep:"

"'tis much he dares,
And to that dauntless temper of his mind,
He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour
To act in safety. There is none but he
Whose being I do fear; and under him
My genius is rebuked."

But Macbeth did him scant justice: that guiding wisdom also

prompted Banquo to resist the first suggestions of evil; and to mistrust the devil even though speaking true; for—

“oftentimes to win us to our harm,
The instruments of darkness tell us truths;
Win us with honest trifles, to betray us
In deepest consequence.”

So that we fully credit Banquo when we find him expressing to his king his own loyalty, and generously praising to him the valour of Macbeth.

“Duncan. True, worthy Banquo, he is full so valiant,
And in his commendations I am fed;
It is a banquet to me.”

With the high moral tone of Banquo's character there is blended a tenderness of feeling and a love of nature which should be contemplated in the beautiful combination in which the poet has presented them to us. It is he who reports his observations of the habits of the house-swallow in those well-known lines :

“This guest of summer,
The temple-haunting martlet, does approve,
By his loved mansionry, that the heaven's breath
Smells wooringly here: no jutting, frieze,
Buttress, nor coign of vantage, but this bird
Hath made his pendant bed and procreant cradle.
Where they most breed and haunt, I have observed,
The air is delicate.”¹

¹ I hardly know whether to attribute these observations in natural history to Banquo or to Shakspere. I can't find that other observers have noticed a propensity in the swallow to seek localities where the air is especially pure and delicate. The observation however is borne out so far by Mac Gillivray, who remarks that though they are to be found chiefly in the neighbourhood of towns, villages, and farm buildings in the more populous parts of the country, yet small colonies of them will establish themselves on the margin of the moors and wild glens of the pastoral regions, in the valleys of the upper districts of the Clyde, the Tweed, the Dee, and the Tay, where they will build on the inns and larger houses. As for their “temple haunting” propensities, the observation is as old at least as the Hebrew psalter. The populousness of the colonies that will take possession of every coign of vantage in a lordly building, whether palace or cathedral, can only be duly estimated when at the same time the birds are undisturbed, and the building is not too vast for examination. Under the eaves and in the corners of the windows of the house of the Earl of Traquair, Mac Gillivray counted in 1839 one hundred and six nests of martins all tenanted.

On a dark night he knows what time the moon went down, and when he sees no stars he says playfully :

“there’s husbandry in heaven,
Their candles are all out.”

“There will be rain to-night,” he says, his last words before the assassin’s stroke which laid him low. He has become so real a character that we imagine for ourselves the thoughts that in the moment of death flash across his mind, revealing the wickedness of Macbeth, as he cries out to his young son, “Fly, good Fleance, fly, thou mayst revenge.” His gentleness is conspicuous in the words, when first the murder of Duncan is disclosed :

“Dear Duff I pryythee contradict thyself,
And say it is not so.”

His moral elevation and his piety again in his prayer against evil dreams :

“Merciful powers !
Restrain in me the cursed thoughts, that nature
Gives way to in repose.”

In his waking resistance to evil :

“*Macb.* If you shall cleave to my consent
It shall make honour for you.

Ban. So I lose none
In seeking to augment it, but still keep
My bosom franchised and allegiance clear,
I shall be counselled.”

How nevertheless he shares in the common lot, in the weakness as well as in the strength of human nature, is revealed by the last thoughts he gives utterance to on the subject of the witches’ prophecies :

“Thou hast it now, king, Cawdor, Glamis, all,
As the weird women promised ; and I fear
Thou playdst most foully for it ; yet it was said
It should not stand in thy posterity,
But that myself should be the root and father
Of many kings. If there come truth from them
As upon thee Macbeth their speeches shine,
Why, by the verities on thee made good,
May they not be my oracles as well,
And set me up in hope ?”

There is something sadly like complicity in crime in his only suspecting Macbeth of foul play, instead of allowing his fine judgment to convince him fully, and his will to put in action what his conscience had promptly dictated when Duncan's murder was first disclosed :

“In the great hand of God I stand ; and thence
Against the undivulged pretence I fight
Of treasonous malice.”

This is in a different strain from the words in which he accepts Macbeth's invitation to the inauguration supper :

“Lay your highness'
Command upon me, to the which my duties
Are with a most indissoluble tie
For ever knit.”

And it is mournful to see that, in spite of all the efforts of his nobler nature, the victory over the suggestions of bad ambition has not been completely achieved. His over-anxiety to be assured of the future greatness of his line makes him share with the guilty Macbeth in that mockery of fate,

“Which keeps the word of promise to our ear
And breaks it to our hope.”

His life has been made uneasy by this promise, his murder is the consequence of it ; in the very moment of death he seems to cling to the hope of its fulfilment, though his son's life is in imminent danger too, and to foresee the end of Macbeth and the elevation of Fleance to the throne as the result of the tyrant's treachery to him :

“O treachery ! Fly, good Fleance, fly, fly, fly !
Thou mayst revenge.”

But perhaps it is most of all in virtue of this struggle which Banquo has to maintain against the powers of darkness or against the promptings of the evil lurking in his own heart, that we recognize his individuality, and admit him to claim kindred with us as a human creature. This sympathy of ours will extend likewise to that intellectual perplexity which arises out of the communication he has held with the supernatural world, and his subsequent meditations

thereon; for when the understanding seeks to exercise itself upon the mysteries of what is spiritual, the troubles it encounters are inevitably troubles of the spirit also, and as such they appeal to human sympathy with a power proportionate to the greatness of the argument from which they spring.

MR FURNIVALL:—I am glad that Mr Foggo allows the strong defect in Banquo's character. He was, on one side of him, a canny Scot, and stayd at Macbeth's court to look after the chances of himself and his sons, in which the fulfilment of the witches' foretellings about Macbeth had made him believe. I always compare him with Macduff, whose “Sir! not I”¹ was the answer that the noble-natured man made to Macbeth's invitation to come to his court. Macduff, too, followd up his refusal by seeking Malcolm, the right heir to Duncan's throne, in England, and helping him to win his right. Banquo would never have done this. It would have been too like spoiling his sons' chance.

‘clinquant’: *Hen. VIII.*, I. i. 19. Fr. “*Clinquant*: m. Thinne plate-lace of Gold, or Siluer.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘collied’: *Midsum. N.'s Dr.*, I. i. 145; *Othello*, II. iii. 206. “*Charbonné* . . . Painted, marked, written, with a coale; *collowed*, smeered, blacked with coales; (hence) also, darkened.

“*Charbonner* . . . to *collowe*; to bleach, or make black, with a coal.”

“*Charbonneux* . . . Coalie, full of coales, all to *becollowed*.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘convertite’: *As you like it*, V. iv. 190. “*Convers: vn con.* A *conuertite*; one that hath turned to the Faith; or is woon vnto a religious profession; or hath abandonned a loose, to follow a godlie, a vicious, to lead a vertuous, life.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘fault’: *in the fault*: 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. ii. 29. “*Per me stetit*, I was in the *fault* that it went not forward.”—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 75, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘fig’: *Hen. V.*, III. vi. 62. “*Indormire* . . . to bid a *fig*, or a turd for one, not to care for one. *Fica*, a figge . . . Also, a flurt² with ones fingers giuen in disgrace; *fare la fica*, to bid a figge for one.”—1598; Florio.

¹ *Lennox.* Sent he to Macduff?

Lord. He did; and, with an absolute ‘Sir, not I’,
The cloudy messenger turns me his back,
And hums, as who should say, ‘You'll rue the time
That clogs me with this answer.’—III. v. 40.

² *Chiquenaude*: f. A fillip; *flirt*, or bob giuen with the finger, or nayle. *Chiquenauder*. To fillip; to *flirt*, or bob, with the finger.—1611; Cotgrave.

‘flirt-gills’: *Rom. & Jul.*, II. iv. 162 (see *fig*). Cp. “*Fania*, a mincing, coie, nice, puling, squeamish woman, an idle huswife, a **flurt**, a gigxi. *Faniare*, to mince it, to pule, to be squeamish, to play the idle huswife. *Pedrolina*, a strumpet, a harlot, a trull, a minion, a **flurt**, a minx.”—1598; Florio.

‘a fool’s paradise’: *Rom. & Jul.*, II. iv. 175. “His purpose was to haue vs brought vnderhand into a **fooles paradise** [duci falso gaudia], to the end that . . . we should suddainly be taken napping, in such sort, as wee might not haue time to bethinke vs how to preuent the marriage. A subtle foxe, I warrant him.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 15, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

Nos opinantes ducimur falso gaudio. “He makes vs beleue the moone is made of a greene cheese. Hee brings vs silly ones, into a **fooles paradise**.”—*Ib.* p. 17.

“O Syrus, for Gods sake bring me not into a **fooles paradise** [ne me in lætitiam fruстрà coniicias].”—*Ib.* p. 212.

‘foyne’: *Lear*, IV. vi. 251; 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 17. “*Stoccata*, a **foyne**, a thrust, a stoccado giuen in fence. *Stoccheggiare*, to strike with a short sword, a tuck, or a truncheon, to **foyne** or thrust at, to giue a stoccado. . . *Stocco*, a truncheon, a tuck, a short sword, an arming sword.”—1598; Florio.

‘gall’d jade wince’: *Hamlet*, III. ii. 253.

“A galled horse, the sooth if ye list se,
who toucheth him, boweth his back for dred ;
And who is knowe vntrue in his countrey,
shrinketh his hornes whan men speke of falsheed.”

ab. 1430; Lydgate’s *Fall of Princes*; black letter (no date, but about 1550), leaf xxxvii. back.

“It is a lie (quoth he), and thou a lyer,
Will ye (quoth she) dryve me to touch thee nyer ?
I drub the galde hors backe till he winche, & yit
He would make it seeme, that I touch him no whit.”

1546; Heywood’s *Dialogue of Proverbs*.

“Galled horses winch, and I must gall him still.”

Braithwaite’s *Natures Embassy* (1621), p. 57.

‘harlotry’ (harlot): *Oth.*, IV. iv. 239. “Is my sonne any thing grieved at this marriage, in respect of the loue and familiaritie betwixt him and this strange **harlotrie**.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 45, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘kam’: clean kam. *Coriol.*, III. i. 304. “*Brider son cheval par la queue.* To goo the wrong way to worke; or, to do a thing cleane **kamme**.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘swaggerer’: 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 81, 83, 91, 104, 105, 117. “*Charette*: f. A Chariot; a Wagon. . . *Mangeur de charrettes ferrées*. A terrible cutter, **swaggerer**, bugbear, swash-buckler; one that will kill all he sees, and eat all he kills.”—Cotgrave.

IX.

ON SHAKSPERE'S USE OF NARRATION¹
IN HIS DRAMAS.

BY PROFESSOR N. DELIUS.

PART I.

(*Promised for, and taken as read at, the 24th Meeting of the Society,
Friday, April 28, 1876.²*)

ALTHOUGH in this paper I intend to treat of the narrative or epic elements in Shakspere's dramas, I am aware that my German title does not describe my theme with sufficient accuracy. In any case, the want of a better-chosen name, of a more exact description, lays me open at once to a misconception. For, to endeavour to point out narrative or epic elements in the works of the poet, who is considered by all the world in the highest sense dramatic, looks at first like a rash attempt to deny the genuine dramatic character of these works, and to accuse the author himself of unduly mixing two sorts of poetry—the dramatic and the epic. This however is far from being my intention. On the contrary, I hope to prove that the apparent residuum of epic poetry which we find in Shakspere's dramas, is a necessary ingredient of his dramatic poetry.

I consider as epic elements in Shakspere's dramas, all those passages in which the poet, through the mouth of a character, merely narrates or describes what might have been scenically represented to the audience. The causes which lead the poet thus to describe instead of dramatize, are as various as his procedure, and were no less determined by the nature of the stage properties in his days, and the

¹ Describing incidents, &c.

² This Paper is englischt from Prof. Delius's German one, on 'The Epic Elements in Shakspere's Dramas,' read at the annual meeting of the *Deutsche Shakspere Gesellschaft*, on the 8th of May 1876. For the englishing, the Society is indebted to Miss Eva Gordon, of Pixholme, near Dorking.—F.

necessities of the theatre, than by the artistic plan and performance from the poet's point of view. Generally however, and without regard to the modifications in particulars hereafter to be specified, we may make the following classes of Shaksperian epics in our poet's dramas.

First : *previous occurrences* are *narrated* by the characters of the play, so far as an account seemed to the poet necessary to a comprehension of the dramatic action then beginning. And each is narrated, because it took place too long before the commencement of the drama to be conveniently incorporated dramatically with it. Or else the previous occurrences are narrated because their actions and characters are only partially and loosely connected with the actions and characters of the real play. In either case our poet makes a more sparing use of this means of narration than many of his dramatic predecessors and contemporaries ; while, on the other hand, the greater freedom of movement enjoyed on the English stage over many others, never compelled him, at the cost of the dramatic unity of his play, to drag epic by-play into his dramas.

II. Another epic element which we encounter in Shakspere's dramas may be described as the episodic, so far that it is not (like the narration of previous history) incorporated in the scenes, but is found distributed here and there through the whole play. The employment of this episodic element is particularly to be referred to two artistic motives : *first*, to a practical consideration of the scanty resources of the English theatre in Shakspere's time, which offered little to the eyes of the spectators beyond the sight of the actors on the stage, bare of all scenery and other apparatus. (All the pomp and decoration produced by our scene-painters and machinists, in such various forms, as a necessary indispensable part,—we may say as a comprehensible representation of the dramatic action,—was wanting, and had to be supplied by the imagination of the English public, from the poem which minutely described all that it was necessary to know.)

Secondly, to the poet's dramatic instinct, which led him to clear out of the way of his climax,—or the progress of his play,—by narration, everything which hindered or weakened the effect he wanted to produce.

In the Shaksperian plays, then, this descriptive element, which can only be called epic in a wider sense, is frequently connected with the real epic element of a narration, which saves to the poet a whole scene, necessary, but a hindrance, to the swift advance of the drama, and gives to the audience a welcome view over most of the events past and to come.

I will now attempt, according to the theory of the Shaksperian dramaturgy which I have here laid down, to collect examples of this practice from the works of our poet. Naturally, owing to my limited space, I can only consider a selection of these, from a selection of the principal dramas, as well as a selection of examples from these dramas. And we must observe this moderation in every individual play under our consideration, in order to pick out entire characteristic classes of epic elements.

We will begin with a few dramas from Shakspere's middle period, which embraces the highest point of his art: and first we will take the *Merchant of Venice*. The poet narrates the previous history of this drama shortly but sufficiently in the two first scenes: Bassanio's previous courtship of the rich heiress of Belmont, and the strange conditions to which Portia's wooers were subjected by her father's will. By the humorous satirical speeches in which Portia describes her wooers to her confidant Nerissa, the poet spares himself the necessity for a whole series of scenes in which they would have chosen the terrible caskets amiss. It suffices to present the Prince of Morocco and the Prince of Arragon, one after another, in the fatal situation of a wrong choice and unfortunate suit. In the second act the poet narrates two events instead of dramatizing them: Shylock's despair and rage when he learns at once the theft of his daughter and his ducats, and traverses Venice pursued by the noisy mirth of all the boys in the street. In sharp contrast to this event—which would perhaps be too scurrilous, if dramatized, for a fine taste, and might weaken Shylock's later appearance—we have in the same scene a simple touching account, by an eye witness, of the parting between Bassanio and Antonio, which, scenically represented, would have required further development, and would have hindered the swift progress of the play.

In the *Midsummer's Night's Dream*¹, the narration of previous action relates chiefly to the quarrel between Oberon and Titania, and its consequences, so disastrous for nature and mankind. Shakspere places the history of this disagreement in the mouths of the Queen of the Fairies and her husband themselves, as just before the roguish Puck has boasted of his own mischievous tricks, to explain his character, and to prepare the public for the tricks in which he indulges in the course of the play.

A third descriptive or epic element in the same second act of our play is Oberon's account of the flower, the juice of which, when sprinkled on the eyes of the lovers, was to produce such mistakes and trouble. Whatever meaning we may attribute to this much-commentated-on passage, this much is certain : a scenical representation of the event would not have been suitable to the limited stage capabilities of the time ; but in consideration of its consequences so important to the development of the action, it was necessary to represent this event to the spiritual eyes of the spectator by a close and picturesque description. And in this our poet has been entirely successful. The audience, while they heard in the theatre Oberon's words, *saw* Oberon himself sitting in the scene which he described. They saw, with Oberon's eyes, Cupid's all-powerful arrow glance off from the enthroned vestal of the west, and wound the little flower which before was white, now purpled by love's wound. They *saw* how, in contrast to the invulnerable chastity of that vestal, a siren charmed the rude sea with her deceitful song, and enticed with it the stars from their spheres.

In the *Taming of the Shrew* we have two forcible descriptions, so true to life, so vivid, that it seems as if we saw them acted before us : Petruchio's studied carelessness of attire as he came to his wedding, and his exceeding unceremoniousness at the ceremony. But the horse afflicted with every known disease is, in Shakspere's detailed description, perhaps better and more aesthetic than if he had really been brought upon the stage, even if the boards of those days would

¹ Prof. Delius dates this play 1595, and puts it between the *Merchant*, 1595, and *King John*, 1596. I date it 1590-1, and hold it a First-Period play ; the *Merchant*, 1596, a Second-Period play.—F.

have supported such a four-footed actor. And Petruchio's indecent behaviour at the altar, his curses and his ill-treatment of the priest and the clerk, if actually played before the public, would hardly have had the purely comic effect which is produced by Gremio's naïve account of them.

The drama of *As you like it* is richer in narrative elements than the *Taming of the Shrew*. First, we have in the explanatory scene a description of the domestic relations of the three brothers, which is necessary for the information of the audience, and yet is not susceptible of scenical representation. That in the next scene the poet is contented with describing the conflict of Charles the Wrestler with the three sons of an old man through the mouth of a courtier, instead of giving us the actual fight with its fatal issue, seems, in consequence of this very issue, to be aesthetically correct. The poet thought with the fool Touchstone, who says at this juncture : "It is the first time I heard breaking of ribs was sport for ladies." In the second act, the description of the melancholy Jaques, how he moralized over the wounded stag, must necessarily precede the actual appearance of the misanthropical humorist, in order to make the character of Jaques—who has nothing to do further with the dramatic action, and who is evidently a favourite of Shakspere's—at once comprehensible and interesting to the audience. But the actual wounded stag would apparently have been as difficult to bring upon Shakspere's stage as, in the fourth act, the lioness and the snake which threaten the life of the sleeping Oliver, and are put to flight by Orlando. The meeting of the two hostile brothers in the Forest of Arden, and the consequent reconciliation, our poet describes more effectively in Oliver's detailed account to Rosalind and Celia, than he could have done in actual representation before the eyes of the public. There is another reason for the following and last epic element of this drama. At the conclusion, the third brother of Oliver and Orlando appears with the news that the usurper, when on the march against the banished duke, his brother, had been converted by a hermit, and persuaded to abdicate his usurped authority. A scene in which this astonishing conversion should be represented with the necessary motives, would have spoiled the previous happy conclusion of the drama, by

the introduction of a new disturbing element. Such a scene, by the way, would hardly have been suitable to Shakspere's dramatic genius, for he almost always prefers lightly sketching-in the concluding events of his plays, to painting them fully.

In the *Merry Wives of Windsor* there is but one narrative element to point out,—Falstaff's account of his sufferings : how he was packed in Mistress Ford's basket of foul linen, and, stewing in grease and confinement, was carried away by the unsuspecting servants, and shaken out into the cold Thames. At first we are almost inclined to regret that Shakspere's stage did not permit him to represent this forcible scene before the eyes of the public, instead of simply narrating it ; but the most careful representation, with the suffering Falstaff for centre, would not have attained that high degree of comedy which Falstaff's vivid description of his experience, with all the shuddering reminiscences of his martyrdom, must produce upon susceptible minds, to say nothing of the impression which the approach of the husband of Mistress Ford to his place of concealment makes on Falstaff and on his intended cuckold.

When we pass now from the plays of Shakspere's middle period which we have hitherto been considering, to those of his later dramatic activity, we see that already the choice of adequate material limited the dramatic action, and compelled our poet to avail himself to a still greater extent of narration.

This is the case in the *Winter's Tale*, among others. The previous history of the two kings, their early friendship founded on their joint education, which was so roughly to be disturbed by causeless jealousy, is shortly but sufficiently recounted in the explanatory scene between two Court Lords. The majestic pomp of the Delphic Oracle, in the description of which, according to some commentators, our poet describes the Catholic High Mass, could hardly have been as vividly presented to the public by the scanty resources of the theatre as it is by the dialogue between the returning ambassadors of the Sicilian king. The destruction of Antigonus and his companions is narrated too, not represented, it being beyond the powers of the theatre of that day to show how he was slain by a bear and then drowned in a shipwreck. It is as well shown in the naïve narration

of the clown as it would be by the most complete machinery of the modern stage. The case is different towards the end of the drama, in the scene of the re-encounter and reconciliation of the two royal friends so long parted by hateful mistakes, and in the scene in which the shepherdess Perdita is acknowledged to be the king's daughter. If our poet is contented to describe these events with all their moving details, through the mouth of an eye witness, instead of bringing them vividly before us, we must attribute it to some inward motive, and not, as in the before-mentioned scenes, to the scanty resources of his stage. But these reconciliations come immediately before that most important scene, which, with the reappearance of Hermione and the movement of her supposed image, crowns the whole drama ; and if both events were scenically represented, the former might easily have essentially weakened the effect of the latter.

In two plays of Shakspere's last period, very extensive and complicated events have to be narrated in the explanatory scenes, for the comprehension of the dramatic action, namely, in the *Tempest* and *Cymbeline*. The previous history of the former, which treats of the fate of Prospero, his deposition from the throne of Milan, and his magic power in the island, is fitly told by him to his daughter Miranda at the moment when a storm and shipwreck caused by his own power deliver his enemies into his hands. The more complicated history of Cymbeline is less intimately connected with the drama. There, in the explanatory scene and in the dialogue between the two courtiers, the audience are put in possession of a whole skein of threads of the artistic web which is spun in the course of the drama : namely, the second marriage of the king Cymbeline, which has shortly before been consummated, the queen's intrigue to marry her son to her husband's daughter, who however has meanwhile married Posthumus ; the origin of this Posthumus and his present banishment ; lastly, the story of the king's two sons who were stolen in their infancy. If Shakspere had dramatized all these antecedents of his play he would have doubled its length, but hardly have made it more interesting or artistic. Also in the concluding scene of *Cymbeline*, so rich in discoveries and reconciliations, all these effective details could only be arranged and brought in, on condition of every-

thing else in it being treated epically : as, for instance, the account of the heroic deeds of Belarius and his royal foster-sons ; the account of the death of the queen, and of the Roman battle.

The plays which we have previously considered are all included in the oldest edition in the category of Comedies ; while in the same edition *Cymbeline* is placed among the Tragedies, and leads by a gradual transition to those dramas of our poet which, in my opinion, better deserve the name of tragedies than *Cymbeline*. In these so-called great tragedies we meet with the epic element unequally distributed, now stronger, now weaker, according as the poet's dramatic material seems to need the assistance of this artifice or not. This assistance is least needed in Shakspere's most uniform¹ tragedies, in *Othello* and *Macbeth*. In *Othello* there are really only two portions of previous history related instead of acted in the explanatory scenes, Iago's account of the unjust and wounding loss of promotion which he had suffered from Othello ; and Othello's account of his courtship of Desdemona. Neither, however, is a single event, but rather an accumulation of events which are closely connected in the narration and lead up to great dramatic effects, but are hardly themselves susceptible of dramatization. Or might we presume that the poet would have produced a greater dramatic effect, if he had introduced the Moor as Brabantio's guest, relating his stirring adventures of war and travel, and lastly, openly demanding the hand of Desdemona ? The effect produced on the Venetian Senate, in Council, as on the Shaksperian public in the theatre, must have been much greater from Othello's account of the romantic course of his courtship in his own justification than from any acting.

The poet has made just as sparing a use of the narrative element in his *Macbeth*. He allows the wounded soldiers to tell of Macbeth's bravery in battle with the rebels and the Norwegians. A dramatic representation of this battle-scene itself, if it had been feasible, would have injured the dramatic effect of the single combats, which determine the catastrophe of the piece. It appears more significant that the murder of Duncan and his two grooms is only recounted, not represented. The poet determined not to show these bloody deeds

¹ *einhülllich* = unmixed with collateral matter.

themselves, but to mirror them, on the one hand, in the doers, and, on the other, in the victims, and in this double reflection of the murder to make the required impression on the public.

As our poet gives freer play to the lyric element in his youthful tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* than he would perhaps have done when his art was more mature ; so also is it richer in the epic element than he would probably have thought fitting to make it when at the height of his dramatic power.

The poet may have had good dramatic reasons for Romeo's vain enthusiasm of love for the fair Rosaline being mentioned only in his conversation with his friend, and never introducing us to the object of his passion. This belongs to the previous history of the drama. The case is different with other epic passages in which the audience merely have that recounted to them which has just been scenically represented to them, or is just going to be. For example, in the third act, Benvolio's account of the bloody action, in which the public had just seen Mercutio and Tybalt fall ; further, in the fourth act, the monk's detailed description of the effect of his sleeping draught ; of Juliet's apparent death and burial. Lastly, at the end of the drama the long recapitulation of all the previous events by the monk.

These are superfluities which the maturer genius of Shakspere would have avoided. Perhaps he would also have omitted Mercutio's fantastic humorous account of Queen Mab, which has no visible connection with the drama, however graceful a genre picture it is, considered merely as an accessory. There is nothing accessory, on the other hand, in the description of the poor apothecary's shop in Mantua, the sight of which suggests to Romeo the possibility of buying there the necessary poison. Shakspere's stage could well have produced the image of the famished apothecary, but not the poor wretch's shop, with its various and worthless contents.

King Lear admits of much epic treatment, not only on account of the rich material required by the subject, but also on account of the swiftness of the dramatic action. The previous history, in which, extending through the whole drama, is contained in miniature the family relations of Lear and Gloster, is indicated in the explanatory scene between Kent and Gloster. The long list of grievances between

Lear's knights and Goneril's household, which, gradually extending, at last caused the final rupture between father and daughter, could not well have been scenically represented, but must be gathered from the words of the offended parties. Again, dramatic material for at least a whole act is compressed into an explanatory scene at the beginning of the third act, in Kent's conversation with a gentleman. In this we are informed of Lear's first attack of madness; of the division between his two sons-in-law, Albany and Cornwall; of the French preparations for an attack on England. With the same object the poet has introduced a second explanatory scene into the fourth act, another conversation between Kent and the same gentleman. In this the story of the latter does away with the necessity for several scenes which would else have been requisite for the plot, viz. a scene to account for the King of France's sudden return to his own land, and his disappearance from the further course of the drama; a scene in which Cordelia should learn the heartrending news of her beloved father's sorrows, and the crimes of her unnatural sisters; a scene to show us Lear in a new phase of his madness.

The epic element is quite different in Edgar's masterly description of the cliff at Dover, with which he deceives his blind father. For Shakspere's public, this and similar detailed word-pictures, which we moderns could easily spare from our own drama, had another and deeper significance. They brought before their hearers' minds-eye and fancy those images which the deficient stage scenery of the time could not offer to their bodily eyes. So also, to give a few examples from Shakspere's historial dramas: in *King Richard II.*, Bolingbroke's solemn entry into London; in *King Henry V.*, the English camp the evening before the decisive battle in France, described in all their characteristic details, only *not* acted. So in *Coriolanus*, the Triumph of Marcius through the streets of Rome; in *Antony and Cleopatra*, the first meeting between the Egyptian Queen and the Roman Triumvir on the river Cydnus, described in the most glowing colours, but *not* represented—all scenes in the visible representation of which modern decorative art and scenic arrangements would put forth all their power, and spare the poet the trouble of making a minute description.

But, to return to King Lear after this digression, we have to

observe finally one more epic element. The poet spares us the sight of Gloster dying of a broken heart, and we learn it only from Edgar's touching narration. So also the poet gives us a short account of Cordelia's hanging herself in prison, but does not represent it on the stage. The attention of the public is throughout concentrated on old Lear himself, and is not disturbed and diverted by the sight of the troubles of others.

In *Hamlet* the previous history is not, as in many others, narrated in one explanatory scene. Rather, it extends, artistically worked-in, through the whole first act of the tragedy, according to the part played by each person in each event of this complication of deeds. Hamlet's father figures in Horatio's speech as a victorious hero and conqueror of Norway and Poland, at the first appearance of the ghost. He figures as a victim to his brother's murderous plots towards the conclusion of the first act, in the ghost's own account to his son at his second appearance. Then in the court assembly are mentioned the hostilities caused by the young Fortinbras of Norway, which are to be diplomatically allayed by the embassage sent to the new King of Denmark. It was in the poet's interest to bring the fiery and ambitious young Fortinbras, whom he had at first intended to introduce personally later on before the public, at once in powerful contrast to the irresolute, scrupulous Hamlet. Hamlet's love for Ophelia is not represented before us; we learn of it only in the warnings of Polonius and Laertes; and even Hamlet's first meeting with the beloved one in his assumed madness, which perhaps another dramatist would have worked up into an effective scene, our poet only describes in the nerveless account of the terrified Ophelia. As Shakspere found occasion enough later on to show his hero in many phases of his madness, he only intended in this first instance to prepare his public for the coming change. For the progress of his dramatic action he lays the greatest weight, not on the re-encounter of the two lovers under such different circumstances, but on the different interpretations which Polonius, on the one hand, and the royal pair, on the other, give to Hamlet's strangest behaviour. If we pursue the epic element further through the course of our tragedy, it strikes us that this epic element is occasionally not in accordance with the corresponding dramatic element. At the conclusion of the

first act, for example, we see Hamlet firmly resolved to impart to no one, not even to his friend Horatio, what the ghost had confided to him alone. In the third act, however, on the occasion of the play performed by the strolling players, we learn from Hamlet's mouth that meanwhile he had acquainted Horatio with all the circumstances of his father's murder. We miss a scene in which Hamlet would have been obliged to explain and account for his change of mind on this point. Further, in the fourth act, King Claudius tells Laertes of the visit of the Norman-French Lamound to the Danish Court, how he had praised Laertes' skill in fence, and thereby had aroused Hamlet's jealousy, and made him desirous of measuring himself against Laertes. If we look back now on the previous course of the drama, from Laertes' departure from France to his sudden return thence, and if we observe Hamlet's behaviour during all this time, we find no moment at which this praise of Laertes' skill could possibly make the slightest impression on Hamlet's mind. The two last epic elements of the tragedy are the queen's account of the death of Ophelia, and Hamlet's own narration of his voyage, to Horatio. In both cases the then condition of the stage rendered any scenical representation impossible. What in the modern French opera, supported by all imaginable art of theatrical machinery and painting, might be an attractive and gratifying task for the manager, was impossible on Shakspere's stage. But perhaps the poet's vivid description of Ophelia going to her watery death singing, and crowned with flowers, fearless and careless, made a deeper and more touching impression on his public than all modern operatic art could make on us at present.

Shakspere's historical plays, however, are richer in narrative or epic elements than any other of his dramas, the English as well as the Roman. In both, the poet took such copious material from his authorities, Holinshed's *Chronicle* and Plutarch's *Lives*, that it would have been impossible to dramatize it all without having frequent recourse to epic narration.

But to pursue this branch of our subject would be to over-pass the limits of the hour, during which I have already trespassed too far upon your kind attention.

X.

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SECOND AND THIRD
PARTS OF *HENRY VI*, AND THEIR ORIGINALS.

BY MISS JANE LEE.

*Read at the 27th Meeting of the New Shakspere Society, Friday, Oct. 13, 1876.**Introduction.*

- I. *The Contention and True Tragedy*
are plays of an earlier date
than 2 and 3 Henry VI, and by
writers earlier than Shakspere,
and are not imperfect reports
of 2 and 3 Henry VI, p. 220.
- a. Internal evidence :
1. Versification and general metrical arrangement, p. 222.
 2. Particulars in Contention and True Tragedy, not in 2 and 3 Henry VI, p. 224.
 3. Identical lines in passages widely differing, p. 225.
 4. Fine passages in Henry VI left out of Contention and True Tragedy, p. 226.
 5. Necessary passages ditto, p. 228.
- b. External evidence :
6. Greene's "Tyger's heart wrapt in a Player's hide," p. 230.
- II. No part of the Contention and True Tragedy was Shakspere's, p. 231.
- a. External evidence, p. 232.
- b. Internal evidence, p. 233.
*The "Anjou and Maine" speech
not like Biron's in Love's
Labours Lost*, p. 234.
- III. *The Contention and True Tragedy* were by Marlowe and Greene, p. 236.
- a. External evidence, p. 236.
- b. Internal evidence :
- 1. Absence of rhyme, p. 241.
 - 2. Grammatical structure, p. 241.
 - 3. Resemblances of verbal expression, p. 243.
 - 4. Resemblances of thought, p. 245.
 - 5. Lines copied or reproduced in (or from) Marlowe and Greene, p. 246.
 - 6. Phrases, names, and proverbs in Greene, also in Contention and True Tragedy, p. 249.
- c. What parts of the Contention and True Tragedy did Greene and Marlowe respectively write? p. 251.
- d. Peele had possibly a share in the plays, p. 257.
- e. Comments on Mr Ward's conclusion against Greene's share in the plays, p. 261.
- IV. It was Shakspere who altered the Contention and True Tragedy into 2 and 3 Henry VI, probably helped by Marlowe, p. 263.
- V. Summary of former opinions on the authorship of the plays, p. 275.

MANY questions are summed up in the one question: "Who wrote the *Henry VI* plays?" We have to decide not only whether Shakspere was their author, but also whether he worked single-

handed, or with fellow-workers?—when the plays were written?—whether they are original, or founded on certain older plays?—and, if this be so, who was the author, or who were the authors of those older plays, as well as at what time were they written?

The earliest known copies of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, appear in the first Folio (1623) of Shakspere's works; but we have Quartos of two plays—the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*—which are either imperfect transcripts of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, or else plays of an earlier date out of which these latter were constructed.

The first part of the *Henry VI* plays does not stand on the same footing as the two latter parts. We possess no early sketch, or imperfect transcript of it (if such ever existed); and whilst it is abundantly evident that Parts 2 and 3 were written by the same men, it is by no means so evident that they were written by the same men as composed Part 1. The first Part of *Henry VI*, therefore, cannot be considered in connection with the second and third Parts.

I. In entering on the question of the authorship of Parts 2 and 3 I think our first point should be to decide whether they are copies—enlarged and improved—of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*; or whether they are themselves original works of which the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are imperfect transcripts. The last of the writers who have maintained this view is Mr Fleay, in an interesting paper in *Macmillan's Magazine* for Nov. 1875. His reasons for holding this opinion are as follows: 1st, he finds, in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* words omitted which are needful to the sense; 2nd, words misplaced; 3rd, wrong metrical arrangement; 4th, gaps filled up with inferior matter. The first three reasons do not, I think, prove much either way. Every editor of our early plays tells the same tale: he finds only too often words omitted, words misplaced, and the metre wrongly arranged. It is because of these very omissions, displacements, and misarrangements that we are still perplexed as to the sense of many passages in our old dramatists. The 4th reason presents the divergence of opinion in the clearest light. Mr Fleay argues: 'Here we have gaps filled up with inferior matter, and this is to me a proof that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are imperfect copies of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3.'

Those who differ from Mr Fleay say : ‘Here is inferior matter ; but it is to us one among many proofs that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are older and weaker plays. This inferior matter was weighed in the balance and found wanting by that later writer or those later writers who constructed out of them the fuller and more sustained dramas which we know as *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3.’

On this disputed question I am on the side of those who hold that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are the older plays. I will give my reasons presently for thinking this ; but lest it should seem to some that I linger unnecessarily over the question, let me say that I do so because I myself hesitated long, and because it was not until I had gone patiently through the arguments which I have here brought together, that I convinced myself that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are older plays on which *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, are founded. And here I must not omit to mention one circumstance which tells against the conclusion I have arrived at. It is this : that the edition of 1619 of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* which professes to be “newly corrected and enlarged,” and which is published with the name of “William Shakespeare,” is much more like *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, than are the earlier Quartos. Those who believe the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* to be imperfect, dishonestly gotten copies of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, naturally think that this circumstance adds strength to their conclusion. And yet it proves nothing. For the publisher [T. P., the pirate T. Pavier¹] might have procured copies or players’ parts of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, and by comparing the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* with them, might have corrected historical blunders, and otherwise improved the old plays.

As the external evidence with regard to the priority of the plays is closely connected with the question of their authorship, I propose first to bring together the internal evidence, and to defer for the moment all reference to external evidence. I may here observe, once

¹ He published or printed the 2nd and 3rd spurious and imperfect Quartos of *Henry V*, of which the like original, Q1, must have been obtained by surreptitious means, from the players, or notes, or both.

for all, that I am indebted for much of what follows under this head, to the notes of Malone¹.

a. 1. The first consideration which leads to the belief that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are older plays than *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, is the nature of their versification and general metrical arrangement. This resembles the versification of the dramatists anterior to Shakspere's time far more than that of Shakspere and his immediate contemporaries. The general want of regularity and equality—the monotonous sing-song rhythm of some scenes, the irregular and careless metre of others—which characterized the versification of our earlier dramatic writers, is in great measure characteristic of the versification of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. Such plays as *Locrine*, and *The Famous Victories*, and some parts of the *True Tragedy of Richard III* will afford examples of what I mean. Now, in the *Henry VI* plays, though there is much that is monotonous and tame, yet the many careless, meagre, and irregular lines which disfigure the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are absent; so that the want of balance and equality in the various passages and scenes never jars on our ears. And thus there is fair ground for concluding that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, belong to a later time than the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. One can hardly suppose that any possible transcriber of the *Henry VI* plays could have, as it were, mentally dropped back into the metrical style of an earlier period of dramatic poetry.

Here is an example, chosen almost at random, which will serve to illustrate what these metrical differences are :

“ *York*. Now, York, bethink thyself and rouse thee up,
Take time whilst it is offered thee so fair,
Lest when thou wouldest, thou canst it not attain,
‘Twas men I lacked, and now they give them me,
And now whilst I am busy in Ireland,
I have seduced a headstrong Kentishman,
John Cade of Ashford,
Under the title of John Mortimer
To raise commotion, and by that means
I shall perceive how the common people

¹ I have myself found Malone to be in more than one instance inaccurate; but in every such instance quoted from him I have corrected the inaccuracy.

Do affect the claim and house of York.
 Then if he have success in his affairs,
 From Ireland then comes York again,
 To reap the harvest which that coystrill sowed.
 Now if he should be taken and condemned,
 He'll ne'er confess that I did set him on,
 And therefore ere I go, I'll send him word
 To put in practice and to gather head,
 That so soon as I am gone, he may begin
 To rise in arms with troops of country swains
 To help him to perform this enterprise.
 And then Duke Humphrey, he well made away,
 None then can stop the light to England's crown,
 But York can tame and headlong pull them down."

Contention, sc. ix. 169, Camb. Sh., and Shak. Soc.
 Reprints (1843), p. 38, l. 14.

And in *Henry VI*, Part 2 :—

" *York*. Now, York, or never, steel thy fearful thoughts,
 And change misdoubt to resolution :
 Be what thou hopest to be, or what thou art
 Resign to death ; it is not worth the enjoying :
 Let pale-faced fear keep with the mean-born man,
 And find no harbour in a royal heart.
 Faster than spring-time showers, comes thought on thought ;
 And not a thought but thinks on dignity.
 My brain more busy than the labouring spider,
 Weaves tedious snares to trap my enemies.
 Well, nobles, well ; 'tis politicly done
 To send me packing with a host of men.
 I fear me you but warm the starved snake,
 Who, cherished in your breasts, will sting your hearts.
 'Twas men I lack'd, and you will give them me ;
 I take it kindly, yet, be well assured,
 You put sharp weapons in a madman's hands.
 Whilst I in Ireland nourish a mighty band,
 I will stir up in England some black storm,
 Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell :
 And this fell tempest shall not cease to rage,
 Until the golden circuit on my head,
 Like to the glorious sun's transparent beams,
 Do calm the fury of this mad bred flaw :
 And for a minister of my intent,
 I have seduced a head-strong Kentishman,
 John Cade of Ashford,
 To make commotion, as full well he can,
 Under the title of John Mortimer.

In Ireland have I seen this stubborn Cade
Oppose himself against a troop of kernes ;
And fight so long till that his thighs with darts
Were almost like a sharp-quilled porcupine :
And, in the end being rescued, I have seen him
Caper upright like a wild Morisco
Shaking the bloody darts, as he his bells.

* * * * *
By this I shall perceive the commons' mind
How they affect the house and claim of York.
Say he be taken, racked, and tortured,
I know, no pain they can inflict upon him,
Will make him say—I moved him to these arms.
Say that he thrive, (as 'tis great like he will)
Why, then from Ireland come I with my strength,
And reap the harvest which that rascal sowed :
For Humphrey being dead, as he shall be,
And Henry put apart, the next for me."

2 Henry VI, III. i. 331.¹

I find it hard not to assign this passage of the *Contention* to an earlier period than the corresponding passage in *Henry VI*, Part 2. It seems to me to be as clear that it belongs to an earlier stage in the progress of dramatic poetry, as to a geologist it is clear that the stratum which exhibits the simpler forms of creation belongs to an earlier stage of our earth's growth than that which teems with higher orders of organic life.

a. 2. Several particulars are related in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* of which there is no mention made in *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3. It is reasonable to suppose that the author of *Henry VI* might have rejected these particulars as superfluous or trivial : but it is scarcely probable that any copyist would have invented and inserted them. For example : the judgment passed on the Duchess of Gloster

¹ To the same effect are the following instances :

Speech of Sir John Hume—*2 Henry VI*, I. ii. 87. *Cont.* ii. 68, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 11, l. 5.

Queen's speech—*2 Henry VI*, I. iii. 40. *Cont.* iii. 44, Camb. Sh., and Reprints, p. 13, l. 6.

Clifford's speech—*2 Henry VI*, IV. viii. 10. *Cont.* xviii. 87, and Reprints, p. 60, l. 13.

Richard's speech—*3 Henry VI*, II. iii. 14. *True Tragedy*, vi. 15, and Reprints, p. 145, l. 8.

Edward's speech—*3 Henry VI*, IV. i. 130. *True Tragedy*, xii. 95, and Reprints, p. 166, l. 31.

is materially different in the *Contention* and in *Henry VI*, Part 2. In the former it is said : " thou shalt two days in London do penance bare-foot in the streets, with a white sheet about thy body, and a wax taper burning in thy hand." In *Henry VI*, Part 2, all details are omitted, and she is merely told that she shall do open penance for three days.

In scene xxi. of the *Contention* (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 65), the king describes minutely the appearance of Jack Cade ; but in *Henry VI*, Part 2, there is no such description.

Toward the close of the *Contention*, after the battle of St Albans, Clifford is carrying away the body of his father, when he is interrupted by the entrance of York's son, Richard. Clifford lays down the body, fights with Richard, and sends him flying from the field, while he speaks these words :

"Out, Crook-back villain, get thee from my sight !
But I will after thee, and once again,
When I have borne my father to his tent,
I'll try my fortune better with thee yet."

Contention, xxiii. 58, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 70, l. 23.

In the corresponding scene of *Henry VI*, Part 2, Richard is not introduced at all.

Once more, in the *True Tragedy*, Richard gives an account of the death of Warwick's father (Salisbury), while in the corresponding lines of 3 *Henry VI* he makes no mention of Salisbury, but describes instead the death of Warwick's brother. The two descriptions differ in every circumstance (cf. *True Tragedy*, vi. 15, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 145, l. 8, with 3 *Henry VI*, II. iii. 14)¹.

a. 3. It is noticeable that in the midst of scenes where there are

¹ Mr Kenny (see his '*Life and Genius of Shakespeare*') , who holds that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are copies of *Henry VI*, surreptitiously obtained, and made up partly from memory, partly from notes, when arguing against Malone's line of reasoning, observes that : "since Malone's time the first edition of *Hamlet*, which was manifestly a mutilated and an imperfect copy, has been discovered ; and in it there is one scene between the Queen and Horatio of which no trace whatever exists in the more perfect edition." p. 294. This would undoubtedly be an argument against the conclusion which Malone draws from the presence in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* of new matter. But is the first Quarto of *Hamlet* "manifestly a mutilated and imperfect copy" ? Might it not have been Shakspere's first rough sketch ?

many and considerable differences between the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, and *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, where many lines are partly, and many lines are wholly, different,—we suddenly come upon a group of lines quite the same; lines often spoken by the less important characters of the plays. One can hardly imagine that a copyist would preserve intact the unimportant words spoken by minor personages, while he gave only garbled and imperfect versions of the speeches assigned to the chief characters. For instance: Act V. sc. iv. of *Henry VI*, Part 3, is very different from sc. xxi. of the *True Tragedy* (Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843, p. 180, l. 21); but the five lines spoken by Oxford are the same in both:

“ Women and children, of so high a courage,
And warriors faint! why ‘twere perpetual shame.
O brave young prince! thy famous grandfather
Doth live again in thee: long mayst thou live,
To bear his image and renew his glories!”

a. 4. I have said that the additional particulars found in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are an argument against their being spurious copies of the *Henry VI* plays. The omission from them of some of the finest passages is an even stronger argument.

Turn to York’s speech with which 2 *Henry VI*, I. i. closes. Of the first half there is no trace whatever in the *Contention*, while the last half is exactly the same in both. Are we to suppose that the transcriber deliberately passed by these first 20 lines (lines which are full of life and power) while he copied the remainder with conscientious care? Moreover there is nothing in common between the first and last parts of the speech. The versification even is not the same. From line 230,

“ Anjou and Maine both given unto the French”

(i. e. from the point where the speech is the same in both versions), to the end, there is a regular unbroken monotony in the metre;—there is only one line in which there are more than ten syllables; there is a pause at the end of every line:

“ Anjou and Maine both given unto the French!
Cold news for me; for I had hope of France,
Even as I have of fertile England’s soil.
A day will come when York shall claim his own;

And therefore I will take the Nevils' parts,
 And make a show of love to proud duke Humphrey ;
 And when I spy advantage, claim the crown,
 For that's the golden mark I seek to hit ;
 Nor shall proud Lancaster usurp my right,
 Nor hold the sceptre in his childish fist,
 Nor wear the diadem upon his head,
 Whose church-like humours fits not for a crown.
 Then, York, be still a-while till time do serve :
 Watch thou and wake when others be asleep,
 To pry into the secrets of the state ;
 Till Henry surfeiting in joys of love,
 With his new bride and England's dear bought queen,
 And Humphrey with the peers be fallen at jars :
 Then will I raise aloft the milk white rose,
 With whose sweet smell the air shall be perfumed ;
 And in my standard bear the arms of York,
 To grapple with the house of Lancaster ;
 And force perforce I'll make him yield the crown,
 Whose bookish rule hath pull'd fair England down."

2 Henry VI, I. i. 236.

But in the first half all is different :

" *York.* Anjou and Maine are given to the French ;
 Paris is lost ; the state of Normandy
 Stands on a tickle point, now they are gone :
 Suffolk concluded on the articles ;
 The peers agreed ; and Henry was well pleased
 To change two dukedoms for a duke's fair daughter.
 I cannot blame them all : what is 't to them ?
 'Tis mine they give away, and not their own.
 Pirates may take cheap pennyworths of their pil[l]age,
 And purchase friends and give to courtezans,
 Still revelling, like lords, till all be gone,
 While as the silly owner of the goods
 Weeps over them, and wrings his hapless hands,
 And shakes his head, and trembling stands aloof
 While all is shared and all is borne away,
 Ready to starve, and dare not touch his own :
 So York must sit, and fret, and bite his tongue,
 While his own lands are bargained for and sold.
 Methinks the realms of England, France, and Ireland,
 Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood,
 As did the fatal brand Althea burned,
 Unto the prince's heart of Calydon."

2 Henry VI, I. i. 215.

Here the writer is bound by no law but the poetic impulse of the moment. Here are no regulated pauses, no fixed pattern of line; the verse, like the thought, is alive.

And, apart from the versification, is there not an energy about the first part which presents a marked contrast to the tameness and coldness of the second? The first lines seem to stand out as distinct and separate from the last, as some branch that has been grafted on another stock stands out distinct and separate from the alien tree. Observe how both halves begin with the same line:

“Anjou and Maine both given to the French !”

Such a passage as this almost lets us see a later poet at his work of revision and enlargement. He copies down the opening words of the speech, writes off his own new and vigorous lines, and then, forgetting that he has already made use of the first line, joins on the entire speech as it stood in the older play. The effect is incongruous. It is like sewing a piece of new cloth on an old garment: the new agreeeth not with the old¹.

Again, the speech made by York in the beginning of *Henry VI*, Part 3, I. iv, is full of beauty: as, for example, when he likens the Yorkist army to ships flying before the wind; and to lambs pursued by ‘hunger-starved wolves’; or compares the fruitless rally and charge made by the beaten army to the bootless labour of a swan swimming against the tide. These are lines that linger in the memory. But they are all wanting to the passage as it appears in the *True Tragedy*. Can it be thought that a transcriber of *Henry VI*, Part 3, would have forgotten and left them out?

a. 5. Malone lays great stress on the passage I am about to refer to, as affording perhaps the strongest link in the chain of evidence which shows that the first Folio contains the later version—much enlarged and strengthened—of the plays as they appear in the Quartos. There are 22 lines at the beginning of *Henry VI*, Part 3, IV. iii,

¹ I wish here to say in passing that the above argument has nothing to say to the authorship of the *Contention*, but only seeks to answer the question—is the *Contention* an older play than *Henry VI*, Part 2? When I come later on to speak of the authorship of the *Contention* I must briefly return to the ‘Anjou and Maine’ passage, in order to compare its structure with that of a speech made by Biron in *Love’s Labours Lost*.

of which there is no trace in the corresponding scene of the *True Tragedy*. In the latter, we are required to imagine that Warwick having made the speech which concludes with the words—

“And now what rests but in night’s coverture,
Thy brother being carelessly encampt,
His soldiers lurking in the town about,
And but attended by a simple guard,
We may surprise and take him at our pleasure,
Our scouts have found the adventure very easy,
Then cry King Henry with resolved minds,
And break we presently into his tent.”

True Tragedy, sc. xiii, l. 13, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 167, l. 23.

We are required, I say, to imagine that Warwick now crosses the stage, and by so doing (without any change of scene) reaches Edward’s tent. The writer of *Henry VI*, Part 3, clearly thought that such a proceeding demanded too great an effort of imagination ; accordingly he introduces a spirited conversation between the sentinels who are guarding Edward’s tent ; and whilst the attention of the audience is thus diverted, Warwick performs his journey behind the scenes. This difference makes the incident of Edward’s capture tenfold more real and life-like. Had these 22 lines been in existence, it is difficult to believe that the writer of the *True Tragedy* would not have recognized their importance and inserted them.

To me it seems that the differences between the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, are so many and so important, that if we allow the former to be imperfect transcripts of the latter, we must suppose that some dramatist took his stolen copies or his short-hand notes and regularly re-wrote them. We must suppose that he newly versified the plays ; that he introduced fresh circumstances ; that he added much new and poor matter ; and that he left out the greatest and most thoughtful passages. On no other supposition can the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* be imperfect copies of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3. A play printed from short-hand notes or from a stage copy would (perhaps necessarily) be inferior to the original, but it could not, I maintain, exhibit the radical differences from it which I have shown to be contained in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* as compared with 2 and 3 *Henry VI*.

b. 6. Turning now to the external evidence, that evidence is but scanty. The earliest known edition of the *Contention* is the Quarto of 1594.¹ The earliest known edition of the *True Tragedy* is the Quarto of 1595.² The earliest known edition of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, is the first Folio of 1623. This, however, proves nothing as to the time at which the *Henry VI* plays were first published; and even supposing their publication was delayed until 1623, they might still have been written before the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. The earliest contemporary allusion that we know of to any of the four is contained in Greene's pamphlet, the *Groatsworth of Wit*. Greene died in September, 1592, and a few months before his death he wrote this pamphlet, in which in the parting words addressed by him: "To those Gentlemen his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies," he makes the following complaint: "Yes, trust them not: for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that, with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Iohannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie."³ By Shake-scene there can be no doubt that Greene meant Shakspere. The line "Tyger's heart wrapt in a Player's hide" is a parody of the line "Oh tiger's heart wrapped in a Woman's hide" which occurs in the *True Tragedy* (scene iii. l. 171, Camb. Sh.⁴), and in *Henry VI*, Part 3 (I. iv. 137). It is said, and amongst other writers by so high an authority as Mr Richard Simpson, that the reference is here to Shakspere

¹ "The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke Humphrey: And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke and the Tragical end of the proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Jacke Cade: And the Duke of Yorke's first claime unto the Crowne. London Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornwall. 1594."

² "The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole contention betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his seruants. Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornwall. 1595."

³ New Sh. Soc.'s *Allusion-Books*, i. 30, l. 30-5.

⁴ Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 132, l. 19.

as a player, and not to Shakspere as a writer. But, besides that Greene calls Shakspere a ‘Johannes factotum,’ which implies that he did everything—that he wrote as well as played—is it probable that Greene, then famous as a dramatist, though he might well feel jealousy of a rival play-wright, would feel any jealousy of a mere player? For we must remember that actors as a class were then held in much contempt. The fair meaning, as it seems to me, of the passage in the *Groatsworth of Wit* is, that Shakspere had borrowed (or, as Greene would say, had stolen) from Greene and his friends; and that amongst other appropriations he had taken this line. If we grant this, if the passage does refer to Shakspere as a writer, we have, I think, as good proof as can be desired that the *Henry VI* plays were written before the summer of 1592—say 1590,—and, I think, equally good proof that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were anterior in date to them. For we know of no other play save the *True Tragedy* and *Henry VI*, Part 3, in which the line in question occurs; and no one, I suppose, will be found to maintain that Greene and a friend of Greene wrote *Henry VI*, Part 3, and that Shakspere re-wrote the *True Tragedy* from it, borrowing amongst other lines the line: “Oh tiger’s heart wrapt in a woman’s hide.” Mr Halliwell, who thinks the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are Shakspere’s early sketches of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, conjectures that there were certain earlier plays, as yet undiscovered, which Shakspere made use of. If this be so, then Shakspere may have taken the famous line from one of these early plays¹. However, until these earlier plays are forthcoming I am content to believe that the line in question appeared first in the *True Tragedy*, and was transplanted from thence into *Henry VI*, Part 3. I conclude, therefore, that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, were written before 1592, and that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written still earlier.

II. The next thing to consider is the question of authorship. I do not believe that any part of the *Contention* or of the *True Tragedy* was written by Shakspere.

¹ It should be said that Mr Halliwell does not think this. He thinks the line appeared for the first time in the *True Tragedy*.

a. The external evidence, though chiefly negative, tells strongly against the opinion that he was the author of either. In addition to Greene's words which I have quoted above from the *Groatsworth of Wit*, there is first of all the fact that the *True Tragedy* (and probably the *Contention*) was acted by Lord Pembroke's players, while, so far as we know, none of Shakspere's plays were acted by that company. In the next place, there is the circumstance that the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* were both in the hands of the publisher, Millington until 1602, and afterwards of Pavier by whom none of Shakspere's undisputed plays were published, but who between them owned nearly the whole of those which are known as the 'doubtful plays.' And further, Millington, when he published the plays in 1594 and 1595, did not put Shakspere's name to them, nor was his name mentioned when the plays were entered at Stationers' Hall. It was of course not an unusual occurrence for the plays of even the most celebrated writers to be published anonymously. Several of Marlowe's dramas were printed without his name. But only three of Shakspere's undisputed plays were thus published, and these before 1598.¹ After 1598 none of Shakspere's plays were printed without his name. Yet in 1600 another anonymous edition of the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* was brought out by Millington, and it was not until the year 1619, when Shakspere had been in his grave three years, that Pavier brought out an edition of the plays with the name of William Shakespeare on the title page. It should be noted, that after Shakspere's death, Pavier in like manner published *Sir John Oldcastle*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, and *The Puritan*, stating that they were written by Shakspere, though we know that none of these plays were his.

That Meres (*Palladis Tamia*, Wit's Treasury, 1598)² writing in 1598, does not mention the *Henry VI* plays or the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, lends support to my conclusion. If Shakspere, as I

¹ Mr Halliwell is my authority here. See his Introduction to *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843. Of course in arguing above that the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* were not likely to have been published anonymously, had Shakspere been their writer, I take it for granted that they were original plays and not mere pirated copies.

² I am told that Dr Ingleby believes the date of the writing of *Palladis Tamia* to be 1596.

believe, did not write the plays as we have them in the Quartos, and did write them, as we shall see, as they appear in the 1st Folio,—they certainly are not Shakspere's plays in the sense that *Richard II* and *Henry IV* are his; and Meres might well have left them out as being not Shakspere's original work, but only plays which he had revised and altered for the convenience of the theatre for which he was in the habit of writing.

b. The internal evidence which the plays afford is insufficient to convince me that Shakspere wrote any part of them. Here I dissent, and with diffidence, from an opinion which Mr. Swinburne has expressed on this question in the second of his Shakspere Papers in the *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1876.

Contrasting the 2nd part of *Henry VI* with the *Contention*, he observes as to the comic scenes of the latter: "The Cade scenes of the original play—their forcible realism, their simple and life-like humour, can scarcely be ascribed to any hand but Shakspere's." But believing, as I do, that the plays were written some time, perhaps some years, before the summer of 1592, I cannot think that Shakspere wrote the scenes in question: Think for an instant on the manner and import of Shakspere's early works. Are they not overflowing with the mirth and lightheartedness of youth, and filled with memories of the happiness and freedom of his country home? But the comic scenes in the *Contention* are written by a man who knows the world and the things that are in the world; who has held close intercourse with men, and learned therefrom to mock and laugh, to scorn their envious desires, their petty prejudices, their fickleness and unreason. I can imagine Shakspere undertaking the task of rewriting these plays at a time when he was poor and unknown, and forced to be what Greene calls him, "a Jack of all trades." But I cannot imagine him to have been in any sense, at this period of his life, their original author. There are fine lines, and even passages of great beauty in *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3; but yet this revised work is vastly inferior to Shakspere's other historical plays. I account for this to myself by saying that Shakspere was here only revising, reforming, and enlarging the words of others; that he wrote, too, not uncontrolled and unfettered, but under the influence of, if not in

partnership with, one of the former writers ; and lastly, that his heart was not in his work, for he wrote the *Henry VI* plays at a time of his life when it was impossible for him to feel an absorbing interest in the intrigues of ambitious men, or in the wrongs or rights of an ignorant mob.

Before stating my opinion as to who the writers of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* may have been, I wish to notice a possible objection to my conclusion that Shakspere was not one of the writers. The objection is based on a supposed analogy between the Biron passage in *Love's Labours Lost* (IV. iii. 290)—where the same thoughts are repeated again and again in very similar words, and where one group of three lines is quite unnecessarily given twice over—and York's speech in *Henry VI*, Part 2 (I. i. 215), where the line “Anjou and Maine are given unto the French” occurs twice—I referred above (p. 227) to this speech of York's as proving that there had been an earlier version of *Henry VI*, Part 2, and that the *Contention* was this earlier version. My argument, it will be remembered, did not depend on the repetition of this line; but on the facts: (1) that the speech divides itself into two distinct parts, each of which opens with the same line; (2) that the entire of the second half is found in the *Contention*, while of the first half there is no trace whatever; and (3), that the two parts could not have been written by the same man if evidence of style be worth anything, since the one part is full of a spirit which is wholly wanting to the second, and since the metre of the two parts are strangely different.

It has been suggested to me that the repetition of thoughts and of lines in Biron's speech in *Love's Labours Lost*, and the repetition of a line in York's speech in 2 *Henry VI*, raise a presumption that there were earlier sketches of both plays; that—as in the revision and re-formation of both of these early sketches there occurred a like blunder, or a like piece of forgetfulness,—it may further be presumed that the same writer was the author of both: now we know that the author of any early sketch of *Love's Labours Lost* must have been Shakspere, and consequently the presumption is that the early sketch of 2 *Henry VI* was also by him. To this I

answer, in the first place, that the unnecessary repetition of a thought, of a line, or of a group of lines in any work shows that the writer made a rough copy of his work which he meant to revise—but which by some accident was not revised,—and shows nothing more. What is there peculiar, or extraordinary, or characteristic in any writer repeating a line or a sentence? Every writer who has time and opportunity to revise his work will avoid such repetition; but in the case of writers who have not time and opportunity, repetition is a thing of not uncommon occurrence. Take Lucretius as an example of this:—Lucretius not only transfers lines and groups of lines from one Book to another, but also not seldom gives the same lines twice over in the same book. As to these repetitions, Mr Munro thinks some to be undoubted interpolations; some intentional repetitions made by Lucretius himself; while many others (analogous to those which I am considering) the poet would probably have removed had he lived to revise his work:—the exordium of Book IV., for instance, could hardly have been intended to remain (*vide* Introduction to Notes I. of Munro's edition of Lucretius). Hence, I say that from any analogy there may be between the structure of Biron's speech in *Love's Labours Lost*, and York's speech in 2 *Henry VI*, it is not permissible to draw the conclusion that 'as Shakspere repeated an old genuine speech of his from *Love's Labours Lost* 1, in his recast *Love's Labours Lost* 2, so he did in the "Anjou and Maine" case of 2 *Henry VI* from his genuine *Contention* speech.'

And further, I will not allow that the two passages stand on the same footing. In the "Anjou and Maine" passage the repeated line is necessary in both places to the sense. In the Biron speech the repeated lines are not necessary to the sense, and their recurrence spoils the connection and harmony of the passage. In York's speech the line was allowed by the revising writer to stand at the head of the second half, because it opened the speech of the older play which he was about to copy down word for word, or else because he may for the moment have forgotten that he had already made use of the line above. In Biron's speech the repetition of lines is not I think a case of 'forgetfulness.' It is far more likely to have been due to an error of the printer, who inserted a passage from a revised

copy in which it was, or was meant to be, marked for omission. But the second part of York's speech in 2 *Henry VI* could never have been marked for omission. It is absolutely necessary to the understanding the future action of the play. In it we receive the first intimation of York's ambition and treachery; of his resolve to rise to power by the influence of the Nevils,—while yet till time should serve he would be still, and make a show of love to the proud Duke of Gloster; of his determination by foul means or fair to seize the sceptre from the childish fist of a king whose bookish rule had pulled fair England down, and whose church-like humours unfitted him to reign. Without this passage much of the after conduct of York would remain unexplained. It has been said that from the early scenes, of Shakspere's plays those who read between the lines can fore-see the after action of the story, and the future fortunes of the actors. The remark is eminently true of the concluding lines of the opening scene of *Henry VI*, Part 2.

III. Many circumstances point to Marlowe¹ and Greene as the probable authors of the disputed plays. External evidence certainly suggests this conclusion, and even were this not so, we might, I think, infer it from the remarkable resemblances to the writings of Marlowe and Greene which the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* exhibit.

a. The passage in the *Groatsworth of Wit* implies that Greene, or a friend of Greene, had been the writer of a play or plays which Shakspere had appropriated. The following indirect evidence confirms the charge brought by Greene. Greene died before the publication of the *Groatsworth of Wit*; and Henry Chettle, one of his friends, 'writ it over,' as he says, and published it. Chettle afterwards felt sorry that he had had any share in giving to the world the abusive words written by Greene against Shakspere; and in the preface to his *Kind-Hurts Dreame*, written about three months after Greene's death (*i. e.* Dec. 1592), referring to the fact that two

¹ Marlowe was, I know, born the same year as Shakspere—1564. He was therefore quite young in years when the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written. But it is not years only that make one man older than another.

persons had been offended by Greene's pamphlet, he says: "With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I neuer be: The other [Shakspere¹?] whome at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had . . . I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because my selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his vprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooues his Art." Although Chettle writes thus kindly of Shakspere, we observe that he does not retract the charge brought by Greene.

Again, the following verse occurs in a volume preserved in the Bodleian Library, and entitled *Greene's Funeralls* by R. B. Gent. 1594 [4to, Lond.]:

"Greene is the pleasing obiect of an eie ·
Greene pleasde the eies of all that lookt vpon him.
Greene is the ground of euerie painter's die;
Greene gaue the ground to all that wrote vpon him.
Nay more, the men that so eclipsst his fame,
Purloynde his plumes: can they deny the same?"

We here see how much this friend of Greene resented the use made by others of what Greene had written. We know of no other writings to which the lines can refer than the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. Hence the natural inference that Greene was either their author or one of their authors.

Once more: the *True Tragedy* was acted by Lord Pembroke's servants. Greene wrote, Nash tells us, "more than four other" for Lord Pembroke's company.² Marlowe's *Edward II* also was played by Lord Pembroke's men. Thus, independently of the proofs offered by the plays themselves, there is ground for believing that Greene was one of their writers; and there is, at least, no ground for disbelieving that Marlowe had a share in their composition.

There are two scenes—and only two—in the *Contention* and *True*

¹ Mr Richard Simpson has shown very convincingly that this passage in the preface to *Kind-Harts Dreame*, p. 38, refers to Shakspere. *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, Part I. p. xli, published by the New Shakspere Society.

² Greene was "chief agent of the companie, for he wrote more than four other."—Nash's *Apologie for Pierce Pennilesse*. 1593.

Tragedy, which on first thoughts seem to lie not beyond the range, but somewhat out of the wonted course, of Marlowe's genius. I mean scene x. of the *Contention* from 19 to 112 (and Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843, p. 40, l. 3, to p. 43, l. 5), when Duke Humphrey's murder has been discovered, and scene iii. of the *True Tragedy*¹, when York is reviled and put to death by Margaret. But it is only first thoughts which need tempt any reader to question the probability of these scenes being by Marlowe. There is at any rate less improbability in attributing them to him than there is in attributing them to any dramatist whom we know to have been living at the time when the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written. It is of course to passages such as these that any person who believes Shakspere to have been in part the author of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* will naturally point. Accordingly, as one might expect, Mr Grant White lays great stress on these scenes. His argument, which is put most forcibly, amounts to this : ‘Who save Shakspere about the year 1590?’ (I myself believe the date of the old plays to be earlier), ‘had written such verses as these? Marlowe? Greene? Peele? One of them, if any one: and it is they who accuse Shakspere of having appropriated the verses. If it be possible that the verses are not Shakspere's, it is almost certain that they are neither Marlowe's, Greene's, nor Peele's. Not one or all of them could have produced such lines at the time when they were written, though the grade of these is low in Shakspere's scale of merit. Their united skill would have failed to produce a dialogue such as that of scene x. of the *Contention*—in which thought, diction, and rhythm sprung up together to flow on in such a consentaneous stream.’ (Essay on the Authorship of *King Henry VI*, p. 415.) This is Mr Grant White's argument. Now, on my part, I will put the following questions:—If there is external evidence which suggests that Shakspere could not have been the writer of these verses;—if at the time they were written Shakspere had produced nothing comparable to them in thought, diction, or rhythm, or had “certainly not done so in any of his acknowledged compositions;”—and if, “therefore, it may be assumed that he” (Shakspere) “had not written in an anonymous work the parts peculiarly distin-

¹ Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 130, l. 18, to p. 133, l. 28.

guished by such merit" ? what becomes of Mr Grant White's argument ? To establish these three hypotheses has been the chief object of this paper.

But if it was not Shakspere, who then was the writer of the scenes ? On Mr Grant White's own showing there was no one else who could have written them except Marlowe, or Greene, or Peele. I say the writer was Marlowe. Mr Grant White dares (so to speak) any one to produce verses by Marlowe comparable in thought, diction, or rhythm to these *Contention* and *True Tragedy* lines. I accept the challenge. I say that in Marlowe's dramas there are many passages which equal these in the music of their rhythm, and in the strength of their diction, and which far surpass them in depth of thought. To what a pitch of greatness Marlowe's genius might have reached had he lived to attain perfect manhood I cannot tell. All I know is, that when he died at the age of 30 years he was the greatest dramatic poet whom England had yet seen (a greater poet, I dare to say, than Shakspere was at the same date); and that in power of imagery, in majesty of thought, in depth of passionate feeling, he excelled all who had written before him, and all (even Shakspere) who wrote during his lifetime. His short life and brief period of greatness remind me of the story told of the stranger athlete who—when the men of Greece were assembled to view the game of quoits, and were watching with delight and admiration the feats of strength achieved by their youth,—strode down from the mountains, and taking the quoit flung it without effort further than it had ever yet been thrown by any man ; and then, while old and young gazed on him with wonder and with envy, turned and left them, and was seen no more. I will quote two passages from Marlowe. Who will tell me that the 10th scene of the *Contention* or the 3rd scene of the *True Tragedy* contains verses as beautiful or as thoughtful as these ?—

“ *Faust.* Was this the face that launched a thousand ships,
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss !
Her lips suck forth my soul ! see where it flies ;
Come, Helen, come, give me my soul again !
Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips,
And all is dross that is not Helena.

I will be Paris ; and for love of thee,
 Instead of Troy shall Wittenberg be sacked ;
 And I will combat with weak Menelaus,
 And wear thy colours on my plumed crest :
 Yea, I will wound Achilles in the heel,
 And then return to Helen for a kiss.
 Oh ! thou art fairer than the evening air
 Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars ;
 Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter,
 When he appeared to hapless Semele ;
 More lovely than the monarch of the sky
 In wanton Arethusa's azure arms ;
 And none but thou shalt be my paramour !"—*Faust.* v. 3.

"*Faust.* Tell me what is that Lucifer thy lord ?

Mephistophilis. Arch regent and commander of all spirits.

Faust. Was not that Lucifer an Angel once ?

Meph. Yes, Faustus, and most dearly loved of God.

Faust. How comes it then that he is prince of devils ?

Meph. Oh ! by aspiring pride and insolence,
 For which God threw him from the face of heaven.

Faust. And what are you that live with Lucifer ?

Meph. Unhappy spirits that fell with Lucifer,
 Conspired against our God with Lucifer,
 And are for ever damned with Lucifer.

Faust. Where are you damned ?

Meph. In Hell.

Faust. How comes it then that thou art out of Hell ?

Meph. Why this is Hell, nor am I out of it.
 Thinkst thou that I that saw the face of God,
 And tasted the eternal joys of Heaven,
 Am not tormented with ten thousand Hells
 In being deprived of everlasting bliss ?
 Oh ! Faustus, leave these frivolous demands,
 Which strike a terror to my fainting heart.

Faust. What, is great Mephistophilis so passionate
 For being deprived of the joys of Heaven !

Learn thou of Faustus manly fortitude,
 And scorn those joys thou never shalt possess."—*Faust.* i. 3.

I have chosen extracts from *Faustus* which are not so long as those taken by Mr Grant White from the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. Not that the scenes from which I copy will not afford fine extracts as long as those which he cites. But my paper is of necessity overloaded with quotation, so that I have made it my aim to abridge my examples whenever it has been possible.

I return from this somewhat long digression to show that—from the internal evidence afforded by the plays themselves—there is good ground for believing that Marlowe and Greene wrote the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.

b. Similarity of style is no doubt a fallacious test; but though I found my opinion in a measure on the strange likeness which exists between the form and fashion of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, and the plays of Marlowe and Greene,—yet I rest that opinion upon the further and surer ground of similarity of grammatical structure; of verbal expression; and of thought.

b. 1. I have said above that the versification of the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* is antiquated, and, so to speak, ‘old-fashioned,’ as compared with that of *Henry VI*; it may therefore seem a contradiction to compare the versification of the two plays with that of Marlowe. And yet the contradiction is only a seeming one. It is true that Marlowe was the father of dramatic blank verse. In his ‘mighty line,’ as in all else, he strode onward, and left all contemporary poets but Shakspere far behind. Still he was, at times, and especially when writing his historical play *Edward II*, largely under the influence of that traditional monotony of metrical structure from which Shakspere was the first to break wholly free. In writing his portions of the *Contention* and of the *True Tragedy* I suppose Marlowe to have adopted voluntarily or involuntarily the metrical style of those who had written ‘history plays’ before him. It is, too, quite possible that both plays were amongst Marlowe’s early writings. At all events, that any dramatist save Marlowe could before the year 1590 have written plays with as little rime as the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* is well nigh impossible. The absence of rime is a strong argument against the Shaksperian authorship of the plays. In all Shakspere’s early plays, even in the early historical plays, there is a large amount of rime. Of the many weak (in a metrical point of view) and slipshod lines in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*, Marlowe is of course guiltless. There are so many weak and careless lines in Greene, that there is nothing improbable in attributing them to him.

b. 2. As to the grammatical structure of the two plays, Mr Grant
N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1876. 16

White was the first to call attention to the recurrence of the construction "for to," with an infinitive, in both. In the *Contention* I find it occurs five times, and in the *True Tragedy* four times¹. Shakspere, I believe, only uses this construction three or four times in all his writings—in the *Winter's Tale* (I. ii. 427), in *Pericles* (IV. ii. 71), in *All's Well that Ends Well* (V. iii. 181)². But Greene uses it frequently : for example, eight times in *Friar Bacon*, and ten times in *James IV*. Marlowe also makes use of "for to," though by no means so often as Greene. I have found it in *Tamburlaine*, in *Faustus*, and in the *Massacre at Paris*.

The grammatical inaccuracy of coupling a subject in the plural with a verb in the singular, is a very common one in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. In the former it occurs 27 times, in the latter 15 times³; *e.g.*,

"And is all our labours then spent in vain."

Cont. i. 75, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 6, l. 1.

"So triumphs thieves upon their conquered."

T. T. iii. 100, and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 130, l. 15.

Marlowe occasionally falls into this error⁴; *e.g.*,

"Was there such brethren?"—*1 Tam.* ii. 2.

"Such rare exploits as never yet was seen."—*Faust.* iii. 4.

¹ "For to," vide *Contention* (Camb. Sh.) i. 70, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 5, l. 26; iii. 152, and Reprints, p. 16, l. 25; iv. 7, and Reprints, p. 17, l. 21; iv. 13, and Reprints, p. 17, l. 27; vi. 58, and Reprints, p. 27, l. 4; and *True Tragedy*, vii. 6, and Reprints, p. 146, l. 19; xi. 155, and Reprints, p. 163, l. 14; xvi. 7, and Reprints, p. 171, l. 3; xxi. 20, and Reprints, p. 180, l. 19.

² "For to" appears in *Titus Andronicus*, IV. ii. 44, and IV. iii. 51. But whether these lines are Shakspere's cannot be said with any certainty. It is also found in the early editions of *Hamlet* in two places : "which for to prevent," III. i. 175, and "We'll teach you for to drink," I. ii. 175; but the Folios change the former into "to," or "how to prevent," and the latter into "to drink."

³ The *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are very inaccurately printed. It is quite possible that some of the 42 examples of a plural nominative and singular verb which I have found in them may be printers' errors.

⁴ Perhaps it is scarcely accurate to call it an 'error,' since 's' marked the inflection of the northern East English 3rd person plural as well as the 3rd person singular. In Elizabethan English, also, it was in some cases used when the quasi-singular verb preceded the plural subject ; or when the verb had for its nominative two singular nouns. (Vide Abbott's *Grammar of Shakespeare*, Par. 333.)

"What is thine arms?"—*Edw. II*, ii. 2.

"But malice, falsehood and excessive pride,
Which methinks fits not their profession."

Jew of Malta, i. 1.

But Shakspere, likewise, in many of his plays uses a plural nominative with a singular verb. I cannot say positively that Marlowe does so oftener than Shakspere. My chief reason for calling attention to the construction here is, that, since it appears very frequently in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, were it not found in the writings of either Marlowe or Greene this would be rather an argument against their being the authors of the plays.

To these examples of grammatical resemblances may be added the use of "as" meaning "that" (either of purpose or of consequence) when preceded by "so," or "such" (and even when not thus preceded). This idiom occurs both in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* (*vide Cont. iii. 54*, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 13, l. 16; viii. 36, and Reprints, p. 31, l. 19; and *True Tragedy*, xxii. 76, and Reprints, p. 186, l. 14). It is, also, of most frequent occurrence in Greene's and in Marlowe's writings. Thus in *Alphonsus of Arragon* I have found it twelve times, in *Orlando Furioso* nine times, and in *Edward II* six times. In Shakspere the same construction is found, but with nothing like the same frequency. Except in the *Shrew*, it does not seem to come more than once in any play or poem that he wrote.

b. 3. Resemblances of verbal expression. Let the turn of speech "Image of" apostrophizing Suffolk in the line of the *Contention*: "Image of pride, wherefore should I peace" (*Cont. iii. 101*, and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 15, l. 4), be compared with "Image of honour" in 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. 2, and "Image of sloth" in 2 *Tamburlaine*, iv. 2. (I admit of course that Shakspere writes "image of" often, e. g., "image of hell," viz. 'night,' *Lucr.* 764; "image of life," 1 *Henry IV*, V. iv. 120; "images of revolt," viz. the feigned excuses sent to their father by Goneril and Regan, *Lear*, II. iv. 91; but Shakspere nowhere uses this phrase with a personal application, and as a personal epithet, as it is used in the examples I have quoted from the *Contention* and from Marlowe's plays.)

'Countervail' is a favourite word with Greene. In the *Carde of*

Fancie it occurs twenty times. It is found also in the *True Tragedy*, e. g., "Than may the present profit countervail" (sc. v. 52, Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 140, l. 31). Shakspere only uses the word once in all his writings (*Romeo and Juliet*, II. vi. 4). Marlowe has it several times.

The phrase "awkward winds" occurs both in *Edward II* and in the *Contention*:

"With awkward winds and with sore tempests driven
To fall on shore."—*Edward II*, IV. vi.

"Was I for this, nigh wrackt upon the sea,
And thrice by awkward winds driven back from England's bounds?"
Contention, x. 37, 38, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 40, l. 21.

The verb "to clad" (not found, I believe, in Shakspere) occurs in Greene's plays and in the *True Tragedy*: e. g.,

"Phœbus, put on thy sable suited wreath!
Clad all thy spheres in dark and mourning weeds."
Orlando, 108, ii. Dyce.

"I will go clad my body in gay ornaments."—*True Tragedy*,
x. 113, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 157, l. 28.

In 3 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 149, "clad" is changed to "deck." Cf. also "clad" in *True Tragedy*, iv. 129, and Reprints, p. 137, l. 34, changed to "wrap" in 3 *Henry VI*, II. i. 161.

The verb "to eternize," which appears in the lines—

"Saint Alban's battle won by famous York
Shall be eternized in all age to come."—*Cont. xxiii.* 95, and
Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 72, l. 7.

is made use of both by Marlowe and by Greene: e. g.

"Even as thou hopest to be eternized
By living Asia's mighty emperor."—1 *Tam.* i. 2.

"How is my soul environed,—
And this eternized city, Babylon,
Filled with a pack of faint-heart fugitives."—2 *Tam.* v. 1.

"This is the time that must eternize me."—2 *Tam.* v. 2.

"Be a physician, Faustus; heap up gold
And be eternized for some wondrous cure."—*Faust.* i. 1.

"I would my lord eternize him with fame."
Orlando, 108, ii. Dyce.

The word is never used by Shakspere.

And yet, while holding that any person who turns to the plays of Marlowe and of Greene immediately after reading the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* cannot fail to be struck by instances of peculiar grammatical structure and of verbal expression common to their plays and to the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, I will freely concede that we should not hastily or rashly thence draw any conclusions as to the authorship of the latter; because instances of like structure and of like phrases are in many cases to be found (as I have noted) scattered through Shakspere's plays, and possibly through the plays of other 16th-century dramatists. Still, while I am unwilling it should be thought that I set too great store by an argument based on these resemblances,—nevertheless, when discussing a disputed question as to authorship, I maintain that such resemblances are of some value. They are not, I admit, of great value; but when, as in the case before us, all evidence is probable, not positive, it would be unwise to reject any testimony which may aid us in arriving at a conclusion. But to return:—

b. 4. Resemblances of thought. The scenes describing the disputes of the nobles in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* vividly recall the passionate language of Lancaster, Mortimer, and Warwick in Marlowe's *Edward II*. There is a close contiguity of thought between the despondency of Henry in scene viii. of the *True Tragedy* (Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843, p. 147), and of Mycetes in Act II. scene iv. of *1 Tamburlaine*, as well as of Edward in Act IV. scene vi. of *Edward II*: and there is likewise, I think, a similarity of thought between Suffolk's parting words to Margaret (*Cont.* x. 200, and Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843, p. 46, l. 9) and Faust's immortal words addressed to Helen:

“ Her lips suck forth my soul ! see where it flies ;
Come, Helen, come, give me my soul again.
Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips,
And all is dross that is not Helena,” &c

On turning to Greene let me give as a single example of resemblance of thought between one of his plays and the *Contention*, the scornful discontent of York when he exclaims :

"A subject as he is !

Oh ! how I hate these spiteful abject terms," &c.

Cont. xxi. 15, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 64, l. 18.

compared with the words of Sacripant in *Orlando Furioso* :

"Honour,—methinks the title is too base :
 Mighty, glorious, and excellent,—aye these,
 My *glorious*¹ genius sound within my mouth ;
 These please the ear, and with a sweet applause
 Make me in terms co-equal with the gods.
 Then these, Sacripant, or none but these ;
 Aye these, or else make hazard of thy life.
 Let it suffice—I will conceal the rest."—Dyce's edition, 92, ii.

b. 5. Besides the resemblances which I have just noticed between the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, and Marlowe's writings, there are also numerous instances of lines verbally transcribed, or reproduced with but slight alterations. That an author should so closely repeat himself is unusual ; but that any one else should so openly borrow from the works of a living writer universally known is still more unusual. Shakspere, as I shall have occasion to notice, borrows now and then an isolated line from Marlowe. But this is not in any sense a parallel case. Hence, to take the less improbable of two hypotheses, it is not unreasonable to infer that Marlowe was here repeating himself, and that he was one of the writers of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. Mr Simpson, in writing of an analogous question,—the verbal parallelisms between the *Taming of a Shrew* and Marlowe's plays—suggests : "that Shakspere might have written the comedy with its Marlowesque turgidity in the more serious parts in order to show what manner of writer he would be if, as had been said of him, he was a mere plagiarist from Marlowe" (*Shakspere Allusion-Books*, p. xlvii.). But this suggestion is not admissible in the case of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. I will give those lines which are repeated or imitated from Marlowe² :

¹ "glorious, a wrong epithet, repeated by mistake from the preceding line."—Dyce.

² As we do not know the time at which the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written, it may of course be that Marlowe introduces lines from them into his other plays, and not that he introduced from the other plays into the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.

“I tell thee, Poull, when thou didst run at tilt
And stolest away our ladies’ hearts in France.”

Cont. iii. 59, 60, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 13, l. 21.

“Tell Isabel the queen I looked not thus
When for her sake I ran at tilt in France.”—*Edw. II*, V. v.

“But still must be protected like a child,
And governed by that ambitious Duke.”

Cont. iii. 49, 50, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 13, l. 11.

“As tho’ your Highness were a school-boy still,
And must be awed and governed like a child.”

Edw. II, III. ii.

“Even to my death, for I have lived too long.”

Cont. vii. 10, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 27, l. 22.

“Nay to my death, for too long have I lived.”

Edw. II, V. vi.

“The wild Oneyl, my lord, is up in arms,
With troops of Irish kerns, that, uncontrolled,
Doth plant themselves within the English pale.”

Cont. ix. 134, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 37, l. 11.

“The wild Oneyl, with swarms of Irish kerns,
Lives uncontrolled within the English pale.”

Edw. II, II. ii.

“Stern Fawconbridge commands the narrow seas.”

T. T. i. 210, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 124, l. 17.

“The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas.”

Edw. II, II. ii.

“Thus yields the cedar to the axe’s edge

Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle.”

T. T. xx. 6, 7, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 177, l. 29.

“A lofty cedar tree fair flourishing

On whose top branches kingly eagles perch.”

Edw. II, II. ii.

“What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster

Sink into the ground? I had thought it would have
mounted.”—*T. T.* xxii. 50, and Sh. Soc. Reprints
(1843), p. 185, l. 20.

“And highly scorning that the lowly earth

Should drink his blood, mounts up into the air.”

Edw. II, V. i.

“Frownest thou thereat, aspiring Lancaster?”—*Edw. II*, I. i.

“Sweet duke of York our prop to lean upon,
Now thou art gone there is no hope for us.”

T. T. iv., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 135.

“ Sweet duke of Guise our prop to lean upon,
Now thou art dead here is no stay for us.”

Massacre at Paris, III. iii.

The lines in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* which resemble lines in Greene's acknowledged writings are by no means so many or so important as those which I have shown to be imitated from Marlowe. There are, however, some which are worthy of note : e. g.,

“ York. And when I spy advantage claim the crown,
For that's the golden mark I seek to hit.”

Cont. i. 149, 150, and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 8, l. 11.

“ Sacripant. Friend only to myself
And to the crown, for that's the golden mark
Which makes my thoughts dream on a diadem.”

Orlando, Dyce's ed. 92, ii.

“ Pardon my lord, a sudden qualm comes over my heart.”

Cont. i. 50, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 5, l. 4.

“ A sudden qualm assails my heart.”

James IV, Dyce's ed. 213, i.

“ Stay, villain, thy prisoner is a prince.”

Cont. xii. 27, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 48, l. 25.

“ Oh villain, thou hast slain a prince.”

Orlando, 107, ii. Dyce's ed.

“ Go pack thee hence

And if he ask thee who did send thee down,

Alphonsus say, who now must wear thy crown.”

Alphonsus K. of Arragon, Opening Address, A. ii. Dyce's ed.

“ If any spark of life remain in thee,

Down, down to hell, and say I sent thee thither.”

True Tragedy, xxii. 56, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 185, l. 26.

These last lines occur in a passage of the *True Tragedy* which was certainly written by Marlowe. Still, there is nothing unnatural in supposing, if Marlowe and Greene were working in partnership, that Greene may have suggested this particular line, or that Marlowe may have introduced it out of compliment to his fellow-worker.

Mr Rives, in his essay on the *Henry VI* plays, cites from Grant White, as footprints of Greene, the lines :

“ Shall lop thy limbs and slice thy cursed heart
For to revenge the murders thou hast made.”

True Tragedy, vii. 5, 6, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 146, l. 19.

comparing from Greene's *James IV*: "Ay'l so lop thy limbs that thou go with half a knave's carcase to the deil;" and in *Orlando Furioso*: "Or slice the tender fillets of my life." However, this 7th scene of the *True Tragedy* is, I think, probably Marlowe's. There are in *Tamburlaine* phrases very similar to those which Mr Rives quotes from *James IV* and *Orlando Furioso*.

b. 6. But though there are not in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* so many lines reproduced or closely imitated from lines in Greene's plays, as there are lines reproduced or closely imitated from lines by Marlowe,—yet there are other and close resemblances—such as remote allusions, proverbial sayings, &c.,—between the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and Greene's writings which should be noted.

In the *Contention*, xii. 51, Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 49, l. 15, mention is made of "Abradas the great Macedonian pirate." In *Henry VI*, Part 2, IV. i. 108, the name is changed to "Bargalus the strong Illyrian pirate." Doubtless the change was made because Bargalus was somewhat a famous character, while Abradas was quite unknown. Mr Halliwell tells us that Cicero mentions "Bargulus Illyrius latro;" and that Bargulus or Bardullis is spoken of by Plutarch in his Life of Pyrrhus. Malone says that Robert Whyttington in 1533 speaks of "Bargalus a pirate upon the sea of Illyria;" and that Nicholas Grimald, writing in 1536, calls him "Bargalus the Illyrian robber." But except in this line of the *Contention*, "Abradas" has been found only once in all literature, and that in a book by Greene, "Penelope's Web."

In the *Contention*, in the scene of the wrestling match between the Armourer and Peter, when they are about to fall to blows, the Armourer says: "and so have at you, Peter, with downright blows as Bevis of Southampton fell upon Askapart" (sc. vii. l. 68, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 29, l. 27). This allusion is left out of the amended play; but Greene alludes to the famous old romance in *James IV*, when Jacques says: "Me make you die on my Morglay" (p. 210, ii. Dyce's ed.). Now "Morglay" was the sword of Bevis of Southampton.

Another point of resemblance, though a trifling one, between the *True Tragedy* and a play of Greene's, is this. In sc. 13 of the *True*

Tragedy, Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 167, Warwick and Clarence contrive a plot to seize King Edward; and then, without their leaving the stage, the scene shifts to Edward's camp; Warwick enters, and the King is taken—a sudden and abrupt transition which imposes a strong strain on the imagination of the audience. In a scene of Greene's *Pinner of Wakefield*, a similar effort of imagination is demanded (*vide* Dyce's edition, 262, i. and 265, i.).

Any one who has read Greene's works must have observed his fondness for proverbial sayings. For instance, in *Friar Bacon* we find: "That come to see and to be seen;" "A penny for your thoughts;" "The more the fox is cursed, better he fares," &c. And in *James IV*, "Run with the hare and hunt with the hounds;" "The cat's away the mice may play," &c. Now in both the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* the number of proverbial sayings is remarkable: *e. g.*,

"Still waters run deep."—*Cont.* ix. 25, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 33, l. 25 (also in Greene's *Friar Bacon*).

"A staff is quickly found to beat a dog."

Cont. ix. 88, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 35, l. 33.

"I can give the loser leave to speak."

Cont. ix. 92, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 36, l. 3.

"This would be ten days wonder at the least."

T. T. x. 92, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 157, l. 7.

"Beggars mounted, run their horse to death."

T. T. iii. 161, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 132, l. 9.

(Cf. Greene's *Opharion*, p. 19, 1599.)

"Things evil got, had ever bad success."

T. T. v. 45, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 140, l. 24.

"And happy ever was it for that son

Whose father for his hoarding went to hell."

T. T. v. 46, 47, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 140, l. 25, 26.

(This proverb occurs in Greene's *Royal Exchange*, 4to, London, 1590, and also in Greene's *Newes both from Heaven and Hell*, 4to, London, 1593. Sig. H. 3.)¹

¹ See also *Cont.* x. 144, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 44, l. 14; xiii. 9, and Reprints, p. 50, l. 19; xx. 16, and Reprints, p. 63, l. 12; and *T. T.* v. 100, and Reprints, p. 142, l. 17 (an allusion to the old proverb, "one pair of heels

III. c. I now turn to the question of similarity of character in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, and in the plays of Marlowe and of Greene. This at once raises the further question—What parts of either were written by Marlowe and what parts by Greene?

In the *True Tragedy* there is no comedy; but in the *Contention* some of the best scenes are comic. Now it is beyond a doubt that Marlowe was incapable of writing the Cade scenes of the *Contention*; and with regard to the early comic scenes of this play, which describe the mistake made by the petitioners from Long Melton between the Protector Gloster and Suffolk; the dispute and combat between the Armourer and Peter; and the miracle wrought by Duke Humphrey when he made the blind to see and the lame to walk;—these cannot with any probability be ascribed to Marlowe. There are not more poor and meagre scenes in the whole range of dramatic literature. I, therefore, assign to Greene, in the *Contention*, a large part of scene iii., the whole of scene v., and the last half of scene vii.¹ But if we see Greene at his worst in these three scenes, we see him at his best in that part of the *Contention* which relates to the rebellion of Jack Cade and the men of Kent. The chief difficulty is, that these scenes are almost too good to be his. The excellence of this part has made more than one writer believe the old plays to be by Shakspere. But the *Contention* was probably written, as I have striven to show, before 1590. Shakspere's genius for comedy was at that time little developed. On the other hand, Greene was then acknowledged to be the greatest living comedian. Chettle (in 1592) in his *Kind-Harts Dreame*,² says of him: “He was of singuler plesaunce, the verye supporter, and, to no mans disgrace bee this intended, the *only Comedian* of a vulgar writer in this country.” In the words “to no man's disgrace be this intended,” Chettle is believed to allude to Shakspere. The passage goes far to prove that none of Shakspere's great comedies had then appeared. Could Chettle possibly have written thus, if Shakspere had written the Cade scenes

is worth two pair of hands”); viii. 14, and Reprints, p. 147, l. 14; xx. 60, and Reprints, p. 179, l. 22; xxii. 7, and Reprints, p. 184, l. 9; x. 11, and Reprints, p. 154, l. 13.

¹ Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), pp. 11, 21, 28.

² New Sh. Soc. *Allusion-Books*, p. 44.

in the *Contention*? Is it then unnatural or unreasonable to infer that Greene was the author of these scenes¹?

Leaving aside the comedy of the *Contention*, let us consider what parts of the tragic scenes in it and in the *True Tragedy* are Marlowe's, and what parts are Greene's. It is, I think, impossible to decide with regard to every passage in either play, whether it was written by one or by the other. Some parts I can assign with a certain feeling of conviction; about others I feel considerable doubt. When we have nothing but internal evidence to guide us, such doubt is inevitable. Marlowe, it is most likely, took certain characters; Greene took certain others; but they also, I have no doubt, took, each, particular scenes—those scenes in which the characters specially assigned to each played a chief part:—and if the characters of Greene came into Marlowe's scene, or the characters of Marlowe into a scene of Greene's,

¹ Here is a fair specimen of Greene's comedy:—

“First Lord. Here's one sits here asleep, my lord.
Rasni. Wake him and make enquiry of this thing.
First Lord. Sirrah you! hearest thou fellow?
Adam. If you will fill a fresh pot, here's a penny, or else fare well, gentle tapster.

First Lord. He is drunk, my lord.

Rasni. We'll sport with him that Alvida may laugh.

Lord. Sirrah, thou fellow, thou must come to the king.

Adam. I will not do a stroke of work to-day, for the ale is good ale, and you can ask but a penny for a pot, no more by the statute.

Lord. Villain, here's the king; thou must come to him.

Adam. The king come to an ale-house!—Tapster, fill me 3 pots.—Where's the king? is this he?—Give me your hand, sir; as good ale as ever was tapt; you shall drink while your skin crack.

Rasni. But hearest thou, fellow, who killed this man?

Adam. I'll tell you, sir,—if you did taste of the ale,—all Nineveh had not such a cup of ale, it flowers in the cup, sir; by my troth, I spent 11 pence, beside 3 races of ginger.

Rasni. Answer me, knave, to my question, how came this man slain?

Adam. Slain! why, the ale is strong ale, 'tis huff cap; I warrant you 'twill make a man well.—Tapster, ho! for the king a cup of ale, and a fresh toast; here's two races more.

Alvida. Why, good fellow, the king talks not of drink; he would have thee tell him how this man came dead.

Adam. Dead! nay, I think I am alive yet, and will drink a full pot ere night; but hear ye, if ye be the wench that filled us drink, why so, do your office, and give us a fresh pot; or if you be the tapster's wife, why, so, wash the glass clean.

Alvida. He is so drunk, my lord, there is no talking with him.

Adam. Drunk! nay, then, wench, I am not drunk: I tell thee I am not drunk; I am a smith, I.”—*Looking-Glass for London*, Dyce's ed., 127, col. 1.

then, for the time being, Marlowe or Greene would write parts not properly belonging to him. Richard is Marlowe's work, yet there are certain lines where, I think, Greene, not Marlowe, writes Richard's part. Edward IV is Greene's work, yet occasionally Marlowe undertakes the part. And sometimes, even in scenes which may belong, strictly speaking, to Marlowe or to Greene, the other seems to have lent his aid. For example, scene xxiii. of the *Contention* (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 68, l. 22) is Marlowe's, though I cannot think he wrote the doggrel lines with which the scene begins. And again, in scene v. of the *True Tragedy* (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 140), Henry's speech beginning :

“Full well hath Clifford played the orator,”

is, I think, Greene's work, while the rest of the scene is written by Marlowe.

Speaking broadly, in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* the characters of King Henry VI, Cardinal Beaufort, York, Suffolk, the two Cliffords, are drawn by Marlowe; but I say this with the reservation, that in certain scenes written by Greene, the parts of these characters were written by Greene also. The same hand which drew the Mycetes of *Tamburlaine* and *Edward II* surely wrote the part of Henry in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. Take the lines spoken by Mycetes in 1 *Tam.* II. iv. Might they not have been spoken with equal propriety by Henry VI?

“Accursed be he that first invented war!
They knew not, ah, they knew not, simple men,
How those were hit by pelting cannon shot,
Stand staggering like a quivering aspen leaf
Fearing the force of Boreas' boisterous blasts.
In what a lamentable case were I,
If Nature had not given me wisdom's lore,
For Kings are clouts that every man shoots at,
Our crown the pin that thousands seek to cleave.”

There can be no question that Richard is the work of Marlowe. No other writer but Marlowe (granting that Shakspere did not produce them) would have written those cruel, passionate, melancholy lines which sum up Richard's character in the 10th and in the 22nd scenes of the *True Tragedy* (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 157, and

p. 185). The first rude sketch, as it were, of this great character (for the Richard of the *True Tragedy* is a great character) may be discerned in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*:

“*Meander.* Some powers divine, or else infernal, mixed
Their angry seeds at his conception ;
For he was never sprung of human race,
Since with the spirit of his fearful pride,
He dare so doubtlessly resolve to rule,
And by profession be ambitious.

“*Ortygius.* What god, or fiend, or spirit of the earth,
Or monster turned to a manly shape
Or of what mould or metal he be made,
What star or state so-ever govern him,
Let us put on our meet encountering minds,
And in detesting such a devilish chief,
In love of honour and defence of right
Be armed against the hate of such a foe
Whether from earth, or hell, or heaven he grow.”

1 *Tam.* II. vi.

(Cf. also 2 *Tam.* Act V. scene i., from where Tamburlaine and the Governor of Babylon meet.)

The lines spoken by young Clifford, *True Tragedy*, scene iii. (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 128), are surely written by Marlowe:—

“Had I thy brethren here, their lives and thine
Were not revenge sufficient for me ;
Or should I dig up thy forefathers' graves,
And hang their rotten coffins up in chains,
It could not slake mine ire nor ease my heart.
The sight of any of the house of York
Is as a fury to torment my soul.
Therefore, till I root out that cursed line,
And leave not one on earth, I'll live in hell.”

The passionate love scenes between Margaret and Suffolk lead me to assign these characters also to Marlowe. His extraordinary facility in invective and abuse is conspicuously shown in the scene where the lovers part¹. His strong hand it is, that describes the

¹ Compare Suffolk's words : “Poison be their drink,
Gall worse than gall, the daintiest thing they taste,
Their sweetest shade a grove of cypress trees,
Their softest touch as smart as lizards' stings.
Their music frightful like the serpent's hiss.
And boding srike-owls make the concert full.

disloyal love and impotent rage of the Queen, and the unmeasured anger—offspring of love, hate, and baffled purpose—of Suffolk. I am glad to think that the Margaret of the *Henry VI* plays was first conceived by Marlowe, not by Shakspere. Surely Shakspere would have seen something nobler in the high-souled, brave-spirited, unfortunate Margaret of Anjou, than a woman pettily jealous, a vindictive, bloodthirsty fury, and an unfaithful wife.¹ Marlowe has left us no great woman's part. If we judge him by the heroines he has drawn for us—Zenocrate, Isabel, and Abigail—his conception of womanhood was not one to awaken sympathy. As to particular scenes in the plays which are written by Marlowe, those about which I feel most certainty are, the Cardinal's death; the parting of Suffolk and Margaret; the scenes which relate the recriminations of the nobles (both in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*); the scenes describing the death of York, the death of Henry, and that in which the news that York is dead is brought to his sons. Observe with what skill—in this last scene—Marlowe contrasts the natures of Edward and of Richard :

“ *Edu.* But what art thou that look’st so heavily ?

Messenger. Oh one that was a woful looker on
When as the noble Duke of York was slain.

Edu. Oh speak no more, for I can hear no more.

Rich. Tell on thy tale, for I will hear it all.”

T. T. iv. 24—29, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 134, ll. 22—27.

All the foul terrors in dark-seated hell”

Cont. x. 157—164, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 44, ll. 27—34
with the words of Orcanes in 2 *Tamburlaine* :

“ Now shall his barbarous body be a prey
To beasts and fowls, and all the winds shall breathe
Through shady leaves of every senseless tree,
Murmurs and hisses for his heinous sin.
Now scalds his soul in the Tartarian streams,
And feeds upon the baneful tree of hell,
That Zoacum, that fruit of bitterness,
That in the midst of fire is ingraffed,
Yet flourishes as Flora in her pride,
With apples like the heads of damned fiends.
The devils there, in chains of quenchless flame,
Shall lead his soul through Orcus’ burning gulf,
From pain to pain, whose change shall never end.”—2 *Tam.* ii. 3.

¹ The reader will recall the far more generous conception of the character of Margaret formed by Scott in *Anne of Geierstein*.

Mr Fleay has justly remarked of the scene which contains the death of Cardinal Beaufort (as it appears in *2 Henry VI*) that not even in Shakspere is there a death-scene of despair equal to it. The scene as given in the *Contention* is virtually the same. The only description of a death-bed that can be compared to it in horror is that last scene in *Faust*, where Marlowe describes the dying moments of a man who had gained the whole world and lost his own soul.

Turning next from Marlowe's characters to the characters of Greene:—Duke Humphrey I believe to be in a measure his, and also the Duchess Eleanor, Clarence, Edward IV (whom we may compare with Greene's James IV), Elizabeth, whose bright wit and readiness at repartee recall to our thoughts Greene's Ida, and Sir John Hume, who is not unlike Greene's Orgalio. Observe how Hume and Orgalio both flutter their unhappy dupes in like fashion:—

“*Orgalio*. God save your Majesty!
Sacripant. My Majesty! . . . Whom takest thou me to be?”
Orlando, Dyce's ed. 93. i.

“*Sir John*. Jesus preserve your Majesty!
Elnor. My Majesty! Why man, I am but grace!”
Cont. ii. 49, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 10, l. 15.

Jack Cade I suppose to have been created by Greene. But I do not know of any special character in Greene's plays whom I can name as affording an exact parallel. Cade is a man reckless, unscrupulous, even brutal; but a man of unflinching courage, and with a lively sense of humour; who was, and knew himself to be, superior to the idle, worthless rabble whom he led; who was not without a certain honesty of purpose, and who felt a scorn for the fickleness of his followers proportionate to his own consciousness how impossible it was that he should prove a traitor to his leader and instigator York. Still, though there is not a second Cade among Greene's undoubted characters,—out of the misanthropy of Bohan, the hot temper and jollity of Adam, the knavishness of Andrew, the ingenuity of Slipper, the fidelity of Nano, the honesty and wit of Jenkin, and the valour of George-a-Green, a Jack Cade might well be constructed. Cade's followers, Will and Dick and Robin, may be fitly compared with Slipper or Jenkin, or the townsmen and shoe-makers

in the *Pinner of Wakefield*. One may liken the aside comments of George and Nick, &c., with regard to their captain when he boasts of his high birth (comments by no means flattering or gratifying) to the disclosures made by Slipper concerning his master, when Ateukin is trying to play the part of a courtier and a gentleman before the Countess of Arran and her daughter (*James IV*, Dyce, 197, 2).

In addition to the comic scenes of the *Contention*—the scenes where the Duchess of Gloster seeks to dip into the future by means of curious arts, the trial of the Duchess, the death of Suffolk, I think are by Greene; and in the *True Tragedy*, the scene between King Edward and Lady Grey—(a scene which recalls certain parts of his *James IV*)—as well as scenes 9, 12, 16, 23.¹ But it is not so easy as in Marlowe's case,—and I think it is not desirable—to lay down decisively that such parts of the plays were written by Greene. There is much more that is individual and subjective in the writings of Marlowe than in the writings of Greene. From the external and internal evidence given above, I conclude that Greene was in part the author of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. But it is difficult, owing to the somewhat negative qualities of his manner and method, to say positively that he wrote such scenes or created such characters.

d. As it has been thought by many that Peele was one of the writers of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, I take occasion to remark in passing, that some of the scenes which I have just ascribed to Greene might possibly have been written by Peele. I give in a note the arguments which might be urged in support of the opinion that he had a share in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*².

¹ Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 152, 163, 170, 186.

² i. Peele was one of the dramatists whom Greene addressed in the *Groatsworth of Wit* when he complained of "the upstart crow beautified with our feathers."

ii. The grammatical structure of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and of Peele's writings is in many respects alike: e. g., in the use of "for to" with an infinitive which occurs in his *Edward I* oftener than in either the *Contention* or the *True Tragedy* (vide 380, I; 386, II; 408, I; 411, II; 412, I; 413, I, Dyce's edition of Peele's works).

"For to," *Sir Clyomen and Sir Clamydes*, Dyce's edition.

for to aspire, <i>Prologue.</i>	1	for to drive, for to win, p. 493.	2
for to observe, for to pass, p. 491.	2	for to know, p. 494.	1
for to slay, for to kill, for to go, p. 492.	3	for to spend, for to have, for to adore, p. 495.	3

It will be observed that I am leaving this part of my subject without making any absolute division of the *Contention* and *True*

for to pursue, p. 496.	1	to upbraid, for to say, p. 517.	4
for to be (<i>bis</i>), p. 497.	2	for to frame, p. 519.	1
for to hold, p. 498.	1	for to bedew, for to die, p. 520.	2
for to call, for to show, p. 499.	2	for to make, for to try, p. 521.	2
for to observe, for to fulfil, for to omit, for to prepare, p. 500.	4	for to release, for to be seen, for to be, p. 522.	3
for to be, for to use, p. 501.	2	for to stand, p. 523.	1
for to win, p. 502.	1	for to aid (here certainly an in- terpolation), p. 524, for to end.	1
for to win, p. 503.	1	for to suppress, p. 527.	1
for to resign, p. 504.	1	for to inform, for to see, for to hear, p. 528.	3
for to pleasure you, for to be, for to break, p. 505.	3	for to advance, for to persuade, p. 529.	2
for to exclaim, for to be, p. 506.	2	for to shew, p. 530.	1
for to be, for to brag, p. 507.	2	for to be before, for to use, for to usurp, for to be, for to end, p. 531.	5
for to stay, for to speak, for to keep, p. 510.	3	for to keep, for to lie, p. 532.	2
for to move, p. 511.	1	for to spy, p. 533.	1
for to have, for to meet, for to excuse, for to withdraw, p. 512.	4		
for to gain, for to get, p. 513.	2		
for to make (<i>bis</i>), for to load, for to see, p. 514.	4		
for to delude, for to revoke, for			77

In the *Arraignment of Paris*, "for to" occurs four times.

iii. There is a certain resemblance of thought and expression between Q. Margaret's words in *T. T.* xxii. 1, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 180, l. 1, and Q. Elinor's words in *Edw. I.*, p. 411, col. i. l. 20, &c.; between the lines:

"As I bethink me, you should not be king
Till our king Henry had shook hands with death."

T. T., p. 131, Sh. Soc. (1843) Reprints;

and :

"If holy David so shook hands with sin,
What shall our baser spirits glory in?"

David and Betsabe, Dyce's edition, p. 470-1.

between :

"Nay, if thou be that princely eagle bird,
Shew thy descent by gazing on the sun."

T. T., p. 135, Sh. Soc. (1843) Reprints;

and :

"And as the eagle roused from her stand,
emboldened
With eyes intentive to bedare the sun."

David and Betsabe, p. 484, I.

The line :

"Even to my death, for I have lived too long."

Cont. vii. 10, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 27, l. 22, may be copied from :

"Haste, death, for Joan hath lived too long."—*Edw. I.*, 414.

iv. It has also been said that Peele may have aided Marlowe in creating (nay, may himself have created) some of the great characters of the *Content*

Tragedy into Greene and Marlowe scenes. I abstain from doing so deliberately and of set purpose. Two reasons cause me to hold back from the attempt.

tion and True Tragedy, for that he could delineate character better than Marlowe. But this I totally deny.

v. There is considerable similarity between the style of some of the best passages of the *Cont.* and *T. T.*, and of some parts of Peele's plays—that is, of Peele's plays when he is writing at his best. The likeness is not in structure or in expression, but in the rhythm, the ring, the general run of the lines. Compare together the following passages :

“ *Cusay*. Though wise Achitophel be much more meet
To purchase hearing with my lord the king,
For all his former counsels than myself,
Yet, not offending Absalon or him,
This time it is not good nor worth pursuit ;
For, well thou know'st, thy father's men are strong,
Chafing as she-bears robbed of their whelps :
Besides, the king himself, a valiant man,
Train'd up in feats and stratagems of war ;
And will not, for prevention of the worst,
Lodge with the common soldiers in the field ;
But now, I know, his wonted policies
Have taught him lurk within some secret cave,
Guarded with all his stoutest soldiers ;
Which, if the forefront of his battle faint,
Will yet give out that Absalon doth fly,
And so thy soldiers be discouraged :
David himself withal, whose angry heart
Is as a lion letted of his walk,
Will fight himself, and all his men to one,
Before a few shall vanquish him by fear.
My counsel therefore is, with trumpet's sound
To gather men from Dan to Bethsabe,
That they may march in number like sea-sands,
That nestle close in one another's neck ;
So shall we come upon him in our strength,
Like to the dew that falls in showers from heaven,
And leave him not a man to march withal.”

Peele's *David and Bethsabe*, p. 477, II., Dyce's edition.

“ *Clifford*. My gracious lord, this too much lenity
And harmful pity must be laid aside,
To whom do lions cast their gentle looks ?
Not to the beast who would usurp their den.
Whose hand is that the savage bear doth lick ?
Not he that spoils his young before his face.
Who scapes the lurking serpents' mortal sting ?
Not he that sets his foot upon her back.
The smallest worm will turn being trodden on,
And doves will peck in rescue of their brood.
Ambitious York did level at the crown,
Thou smiling, while he knit his angry brows.

(a) I feel by no means certain that Peele was not one of the writers of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. Many people believe that he was. I may possibly myself come to think so. Were I then to divide the scenes of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* between Marlowe and Greene, I must inevitably ascribe to one of the two, parts which others might think, on perhaps better grounds, there was good reason to ascribe to Peele.

(β) But what has deterred me more than anything else from making the attempt, is my strong conviction that in the majority of cases it is next to impossible for any person—with only the evidence of style to guide him—to lay it down dogmatically, with assurance, that such particular lines were written by such a particular writer. In many of the scenes of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* the attempt is an especially hopeless one, for there is not any single test which we can call to our aid. Even Mr Grant White's "for to" test ("Greene—his mark" as he calls it)—though it proves, I think, Greene's share in the plays—is of little assistance in ascertaining what parts are by Marlowe, and what parts by Greene, since some of the "for to's" may be Marlowe's (or some Peele's, if Peele was one of the writers). Thus, any opinion which might be expressed as to the authorship of the various scenes of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* must be purely subjective—the result of personal feeling. Such an opinion could only be of value to others if the judgment of the writer had been tried and proved by experience.

My work at Marlowe and Greene has led me to think that Greene

He, but a duke, would have his son a king,
And raise his issue like a loving sire.
Thou, being a king, blest with a goodly son,
Didst give consent to disinherit him,
Which argued thee a most unnatural father.
Unreasonable creatures feed their young,
And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,
Yet in protection of their tender ones,
Who hath not seen them, even with those same wings,
Which they have sometime used in fearful flight,
Make war with him that climbs unto their nest,
Offering their own lives in their young's defence.
For shame, my lord, make them your precedent."

T. T., Sh. Soc. (1848) Reprints, p. 139.

If our reason is not, our ears at least are almost persuaded by such a passage as the one just quoted, that Peele must have aided in writing the *Cont.* and *T. T.*.

not seldom imitates the style and copies the characters of Marlowe. This would not be a fitting place for me to offer arguments in support of my opinion. But if the supposition be well founded this would increase ten-fold the difficulty of discriminating between Marlowe's and Greene's parts in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.

e. How men's judgments may differ with regard to the style of these very plays has been shown, within the last year, by the conclusion arrived at by one of the latest writers on the *Henry VIth* problem—Mr Ward. Thus he writes: “That Greene had no share in the old plays on which the 2nd and 3rd Parts of *Henry VI* were founded, will, I think, be evident to any one capable of judging of differences of styles¹; and it is unnecessary to waste further words on the supposition” (Hist. of Dramatic Lit., vol. i. p. 224. See too 369-72). And yet a host of men out of the past and present have declared it to “be evident to any one capable of judging of differences of styles,” that Greene had a share in the “old plays on which the 2nd and 3rd parts of *Henry VI* were founded.” To my own mind, judging by their style, and by their style only, the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* afford unmistakable proofs of Greene's handiwork. I will place a few passages taken from these, beside passages taken from Greene's undoubted plays, and leave the reader to judge whether or not the style of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* resembles the style of the latter:

“ York. Now York, bethink thyself and rouse thee up,
 Take time whilst it is offered thee so fair,
 Lest when thou wouldest thou canst it not attain,
 'Twas men I lackt and now they give them me,
 And now whilst I am busy in Ireland,
 I have seduced a headstrong Kentish-man,
 John Cade of Ashford,
 Under the title of John Mortemer,
 To raise commotion, and by that means
 I shall perceive how the common people
 Do affect the claim and House of York, &c.”
Cont. sc. ix. 169—on, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 38, l. 14.

¹ In a letter to me, Prof. Ward says, “I had not, when writing the passage on *Henry VI*, read what Grant White says on the subject. This is evident on the surface, inasmuch as I refer to other critics on the point, and not to him.”—F. J. F.

"Manning. Why, men of Wakefield, are you waxen mad,
 That present danger cannot whet your wits,
 Wisely to make provision of yourselves?
 The earl is thirty thousand men strong in power,
 And what town so-ever him resist
 He lays it flat and level with the ground ;
 Ye silly men, ye seek your own decay :
 Therefore
 Send my lord such provision as he wants,
 So he will spare your town,
 And come no nearer Wakefield than he is."

George-a-Greene, Dyce's ed. 254. i.

"York. Now Clifford, since we are singled here alone,
 Be this the day of doom to one of us,
 For now my heart hath sworn immortal hate
 To thee, and all the House of Lancaster.

Clifford. And here I stand and pitch my foot to thine,
 Vowing never to stir, till thou or I be slain.
 For never shall my heart be safe at rest
 Till I have spoiled the hateful House of York.

Cont. xxiii. 32—39, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 69, l. 24—on.

"George. I'll prove it good upon your carcases,
 A wiser wizard never met you yet,
 Nor one that better could foredoom your fall.
 Now I have singled you here alone
 I care not though you be three to one.

Kendal. Villain, hast thou betrayed us ?

George. Momford, thou liest, ne'er was I traitor yet ;
 Only devised this guile to draw you on
 For to be combatants.

Now conquer me and then march on to London :
 It shall go hard but I will hold you task.

Armstrong. Come, my lord, cheerly, I'll kill him hand to
 hand.

Kendal. A thousand pounds to him that strikes that stroke.

George. Then give it me, for I will have the first !"

George-a-Greene, Dyce, 261, ii.

"Edward. Once more we sit in England's royal throne
 Repurchased with the blood of enemies,
 What valiant foe-man like to autumn's corn
 Have we mowed down in tops of all their pride ?
 Three Dukes of Somerset, threefold renowned
 For hardy and undoubted champions.
 Two Clifffords as the father and the son,
 And two Northumberlands, two braver men
 Ne're spurr'd their coursers at the trumpet's sound

With them the two rough bears, Warwick and Montague,
 That in their chains fettered the kingly lion,
 And made the forest tremble when they roared,
 Thus have we swept suspicion from our seat,
 And made our footstool of security."

True Tragedy, sc. xxiii, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 186, l. 21.

"*Media*. Fausta, what means this sudden flight of yours ?
 Why do you leave your husband's princely court,
 And all alone pass through these thickest groves,
 More fit to harbour brutish savage beasts
 Than to receive so high a queen as you ?
 Although your credit would not stay your steps
 From bending them into these darkest dens,
 Yet should the danger which is imminent
 To every one which passeth by these paths,
 Keep you at home with fair Ipigena.
 What foolish toy hath tickled you to this ?
 I greatly fear some hap hath hit amiss."

Alphonsus, Dyce's ed. 237, i.

IV. It remains for me to show that there is good ground, that there is, indeed, every reason, for believing that it was Shakspere who out of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* created the 2nd and 3rd parts of *Henry VI*. The amount of rime in Shakspere's early plays—even in his historical play of *Richard II*—might be an argument against the Shaksperian authorship of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, did we not believe that they were founded on older plays in which but little rime appears. Even were there no other evidence, the unity of design and of character between Shakspere's *Richard III* and the *Henry VI* plays would suggest that they must have proceeded from one and the same mind. General tradition declares the plays to be by Shakspere; the open and clamorous charges made by his rivals suggest that they are his; and internal evidence, as I am now about to show, goes far to prove the same result:—The great verses which sum up the character of Richard are identical in the *True Tragedy* and in 3 *Henry VI*.

"I had no father; I am like no father.
 I have no brothers; I am like no brothers.
 And this word love, which grey beards term divine,
 Be resident in men like one another,
 And not in me: I am myself alone."

T. T. xxii. 69—73, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 186, ll. 6—10.

Mr Swinburne has observed how with admirable judgment the reiteration which precedes the line :

“I have no brother, I am like no brother.”

3 Henry VI, V. vi. 80,

is struck out in the revised play. “We have here,” he thinks, “a perfect example of the manner in which Shakspere dealt with the text of Marlowe.” Another, no less sure, mark of Shakspere’s hand, we find in the words spoken by the Duchess of Gloster, when—her penance performed—Stanley is conducting her to her place of banishment :

n. “Go, lead the way—I long to see my prison¹.”

2 Henry VI, II. iv. 110.

The impatience of a proud spirit wishful to know the worst.

The opening lines, also, of *2 Henry VI*, III. ii., which correspond with the opening lines of sc. x. in the *Contention*, Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 39, have surely been revised and added to by Shakspere.

- n. “1. *Murderer*. Run to my lord of Suffolk; let him know
- n. We have dispatched the duke as he commanded.
- n. 2. *Mur*. Oh that it were to do! what have we done?
- n. Didst ever see a man so penitent?
- n. 1. *Mur*. Here comes my lord.
- a. *Suffolk*. Now sirs have you dispatch’d this thing?
- a. 1. *Mur*. Ay, my good lord, he’s dead.
- n. *Suffolk*. Why that’s well said. Go, get you to my house;
- a. I will reward you for this venturous deed,
- a. The king and all the peers are here at hand.
- a. Have you laid fair the bed? Is all things well,
- n. According as I gave direction?
- a. 1. *Mur*. ‘Tis, my good lord.
- a. *Suffolk*. Away! be gone.”

Turn now to the corresponding scene in the *Contention*. Of the first five lines we find no trace, and then we read :

“*Suffolk*. How now, sirs, what have you dispatcht him?

1. I, my lord, he’s dead I warrant you.

Suffolk. Then see the clothes laid smooth about him still
That when the king comes, he may perceive

¹ In this and the following pages I have placed an ‘n’ before any lines of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* which are new. An ‘a’ before a line shews that the line is an altered form of a line found in the *Contention* or *True Tragedy*. Those lines which were transcribed without change I have left unmarked.

No other but that he died of his own accord.

2. All things is handsome now, my lord.

Suffolk. Then draw the curtains again, and get you gone,
And you shall have your firm reward anon."

Again, the changes made in the words spoken by Margery Jourdain in I. iv. of *Henry VI*, Part 2, seem like touches added by Shakspere's hand :

- n. " *M. Jourdain.* Till thou speak, thou shalt not pass from thence.
n. *Spirit.* Ask what thou wilt.—That I had said and done!"

This last line recalls the unwillingness and reluctance of the apparition in *Macbeth* :

" Beware the Thane of Fife. Dismiss me—enough!"—IV. i. 72.

The line is not found in the *Contention*.

The comparison of Salisbury's brave soul to " rich hangings in a homely house," is a beautiful, and I think a Shaksperian, simile :

- n. " And like rich hangings in a homely house
n. So was his will in his old feeble body."

2 *Henry VI*, V. iii. 12.

Many of the epithets, verbal expressions and phrases, which occur in the *Henry VI* plays are akin to or identical with those of Shakspere's undoubted works. In *Venus and Adonis* occurs the epithet 'ill-nurtured' :

" Ill-nurtured, crooked, churlish, harsh in voice."

It is found also in 2 *Henry VI*¹:

- n. " Presumptuous dame, ill-nurtured Eleanor."—I. ii. 42.

Compare with the words in *Coriolanus*:

" The man I speak of cannot in this world
Be singly counterpoised."—II. ii. 91,

the lines in 2 *Henry VI*:

- n. " The lives of those which we have lost in fight
n. Be counterpoised with such a petty sum."—IV. i. 21, 22.

Compare the line :

" It cannot be but thou hast murdered him."
Midsummer Night's Dream, III. ii.,

¹ The epithet ' ill-nurtured ' occurs in Greene's *Pinner of Wakefield*, Dyce's edition, 267, 2.

with the line :

a. "It cannot be but he was murdered here."

2 Henry VI, III. ii. 177.

Compare with the words of Margaret in *Henry VI*, Part 2,

n. "If you be ta'en, we then should see the bottom

n. Of all our fortunes."—V. ii. 78,

the following lines in 1 *Henry IV*:

"For therein should we read
The very bottom and the soul of hope,
The very list, the very utmost bound
Of all our fortunes."—IV. i.

Throughout his writings, Shakspere often uses an adjective in the place of a substantive. In *Venus and Adonis* we have : "A sudden pale usurps her cheek." In the *Tempest*, "The vast of night." In *Julius Caesar*, "The deep of night." So in *Henry VI*, Part 2, I. iv. 15 : "Deep night, dark night, the silent of the night;" while in the *Contention* the corresponding line has : "The silence of the night."

The third part of *Henry VI* underwent¹ a much less thorough revision than the second. Out of 3075 lines, there are in Part 2 some 1715 new lines; some 840 altered lines (many but very slightly altered); and some 520 old lines. In Part 3, out of 2902 lines there are about 1021 new lines; about 871 altered lines, and about 1010 old lines². Hence it is that in Part 3 there are fewer resemblances of thought and verbal expression to Shakspere's undoubted writings than in Part 2. Here, however, are a few examples :—

(a) Take the use of the verb "to budge," as applied to the retreat of an army in *Henry VI*, Part 3, and in *Coriolanus*.

n. "With this we charged again; but, out, alas!

n. We budged again."—3 *Hen. VI*, I. iv. 19.

"The mouse ne'er shunned the cat, as they did budge
From rascals worse than they."—*Cor. I. vi. 44.*

(β) The verb "to look upon," meaning "to act the part of spec-

¹ and needed, says Mr G. White.

² This calculation does not agree exactly with either that of Malone or of Mr Grant White. Malone's is certainly inaccurate. My own I have made with all the care I could.

tators," which we find in *Richard II* is found also in *Henry VI*, Part 3 :

- . " Nay all of you that stand and *look upon*,
Whilst that my wretchedness doth bait myself."

Rich. II, IV. i. 237.

- n. " Why stand we like soft hearted women here,
Wailing our losses, whilst the foe doth rage ;
n. And *look upon*, as if the tragedy
n. Were played in jest by counterfeiting actors."

3 *Hen. VI*, II. iii. 27.

(γ) The verb to "misthink" used by Shakspere in *Antony and Cleopatra* comes also in *Henry VI*, Part 3 :

- " Be it known that we the greatest are *misthought*
For things that others do."—*Ant. and Cleo.* V. ii. 176.
- a. " How will the country, for these woful chances,
a. *Misthink* the king."—3 *Hen. VI*, II. v. 108.

In the *True Tragedy* we have here "misdeem" instead of "misthink."

(δ) Again, compare in *Love's Labours Lost*:

- " When icicles hang by the wall,
And Dick the shepherd blows his nails."—V. ii. song,

with :

- n. " What time the shepherd blowing of his nails."
3 *Hen. VI*, II. v. 3.

(ε) We may, also, compare together the following lines from *Romeo and Juliet*, the *Lover's Complaint*¹, and *As You Like It*, with a passage in *Henry VI*, Part 3, V. iv. 6.

In *Romeo and Juliet*:

- " With tears augmenting the fresh morning dew."—I. i. 138

In *Lover's Complaint*:

- " Upon whose weeping margin she was set
Like Usury applying wet to wet."—ll. 39, 40;

and in 3 *Hen. VI*,

- n. " Is't meet that he
n. Should leave the helm, and, like a fearful lad,
n. With tearful eyes add water to the sea ?"

¹ I am told that Mr Swinburne declares this poem spurious.

² In *Titus Andronicus* we read :

" What fool hath added water to the sea,
Or brought a faggot to bright burning Troy."—III. i. 68.

And as the same thought appears in *As You Like It*:

“Thou makest a testament
As worldlings do, giving the sum of more
To that which hath too much.”—II. i. 47;

and in 3 *Hen. VI*:

- n. “Add water to the sea,
 - n. And give more strength to that which hath too much.”
- V. iv. 8.

Internal evidence thus points to the hand of Shakspere. Moreover Shakspere himself claims the plays as his own. For, what other inference than that Shakspere claimed for himself the authorship of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, can be drawn from the fact that they are found in the first printed collection of his undoubted plays—a collection which was made by his intimate friends Heminge and Condell¹. The language used by Shakspere in the Epilogue to *Henry V* is even more decisive:

“ the world’s best garden he achieved,
And of it left his son imperial lord.
Henry the sixth, in infant bands crowned king
Of France and England, did this king succeed :
Whose state so many had the managing,
That they lost France and made our England bleed,
Which oft our stage hath shewn ; and for their sake,
In your fair minds let this acceptance take.”

Would Shakspere have thus written of the plays of any other man?

I should like to go through the *Henry VI* plays scene by scene, and point to the added lines and passages in each which I instinctively feel to be Shakspere’s; but space would fail, and I must content myself with pointing to a few instances which may serve to illustrate the rest.

Take Gloster’s spirited speech in 2 *Henry VI*, I. i., describing the “common grief of all the land”—where Shakspere’s patriotism and public spirit shine clearly forth. How different is it from the unanimated, unimpassioned language of the Gloster of the *Contention*!

¹ But *Henry VI*, Part 1, and *Titus Andronicus* are in the First Folio. Because this is so, I feel little doubt that Shakspere had some share in both plays.

Or, take Margaret's speech—*2 Henry VI*, I. iii.—where Shakspere's unequalled power of delineating and discriminating character is forcibly manifested. I have said that I am glad to think that the Margaret of the *Henry VI* plays was first conceived by Marlowe, not by Shakspere. With what skill, then, does Shakspere re-mould and develop a conception which was not originally his own ! Surely it is Shakspere who here sets before us with a few strokes of his pen the pitiable weakness of the saintly King, and the lovelessness of the wife who thus laughs to scorn the failings of her husband :

- a. “I thought King Henry had resembled thee
- n. In courage, courtship, and proportion ;
- n. But all his mind is bent to holiness—
- n. To number Ave-Maries on his beads :
- n. His champions are—the prophets and apostles ;
- n. His weapons, holy saws of sacred writ ;
- n. His study is his tilt-yard, and his loves
- n. Are brazen images of canonized saints.
- n. I would the College of Cardinals
- n. Would choose him pope, and carry him to Rome,
- n. And set the triple crown upon his head ;
- n. That were a state fit for his holiness.”

2 Hen. VI, I. iii.

Turn now to the additions made to the latter part of sc. iii., Act I., of *2 Hen. VI*. Suffolk, Cardinal Beaufort, Somerset, Buckingham, the Queen, hurl accusations against Gloster : He is Protector, and therefore the Dauphin has prevailed beyond the seas ; the peers have been made subject to his sovereignty ; the commons have been racked ; the clergy's bags are lean and lank ; his sumptuous buildings and his wife's attire have cost a mass of public treasure ; his sale of offices and towns in France, were they known, would quickly make him lose his head.

At these charges Gloster as ever “bears him like a noble gentleman.” He will not answer hastily : he goes out, and then returns and speaks with calmness :

- n. “Now, lords, my choler being overblown
- n. With walking once about the quadrangle,
- n. I come to talk of commonwealth affairs.
- n. As for your spiteful false objections,

- n. Prove them, and I lie open to the law :
- n. But God in mercy so deal with my soul,
- n. As I in duty love my king and country !
- n. But to the matter that we have in hand :—
- n. I say, my sovereign, York is meetest man
- n. To be your regent in the realm of France.

2 Henry VI, I. iii.

Listen to the deep pathos of the words spoken by the Duchess of Gloster when she is parted from her husband and hurried into ignominious banishment :

- Duchess.* a. “Art thou gone too ?” n. “All comfort go with thee !
- n. For none abides with me : my joy is death ;
 - n. Death at whose name I oft have been afeared :—
 - n. Because I wished this world’s eternity.

* * * * *

- Stanley.* n. Madam, your penance done, throw off this sheet,
- n. And go we to attire you for your journey.

- Duchess.* a. My shame will not be shifted with my sheet ;
- n. No, it will hang upon my richest robes,
 - n. And shew itself attire me how I can.
 - n. Go, lead the way : I long to see my prison.”

2 Henry VI, II. iv.¹

We seem to see these scenes as vividly, and to hear the voices as distinctly, as if we ourselves were carried back to the fifteenth century—into the midst of the jealous nobles, or as spectators of the departure of the Duchess in her misery. No other writer ever possessed in an equal degree the power of giving form to the thoughts which his imagination had pictured—of calling up scenes, of summoning characters before the very eyes of his hearers. The few instances here given of the vivid power of characterization, peculiar to Shakspere, displayed in the *Henry VI* plays, have all been taken from the early scenes of the second part ; but any one acquainted with the plays will readily recall many more and equally striking examples.

In every respect the 2nd and 3rd parts of *Henry VI* are finer and more perfectly developed dramas than their originals. The whole form and spirit of the plays is altered. Careless, slipshod lines are cut out ; trivial, unnecessary details are omitted ; gross, historical blunders

¹ With the grandeur of these lines contrast the poverty of thought in the corresponding lines of the *Contention*, Camb. Shak. sc. viii. 72 ; Shak. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 32.

are swept away ; the rhythm of the lines is more musical ; the diction more elevated ; the action more fully matured : above all, the characters in every instance stand out more distinctly. Every scene has been more or less changed ; and every change made is a change for the better. Shakspere has gathered the wheat into his garner, and has cast the chaff away.

I have said that I consider Marlowe to have been, at this period, a greater poet than Shakspere, and in here attributing to Shakspere the special excellencies of the *Henry VI* plays I have endeavoured carefully to discriminate between the qualities in which Marlowe seems to me to have excelled, and the qualities in which, in common with all the world, I hold Shakspere to have been (even in early life) preëminent.

But did Shakspere work alone, or is it admissible to believe that in his work of revision and re-formation Marlowe was his fellow-worker? Certain it is that Marlowe's peculiar style appears as distinctly in the reformed as in the unreformed plays. It is hard to believe that any hand but Marlowe's wrote the following lines :

- n. "The gaudy, blabbing, and remorseful day
- n. Is crept into the bosom of the sea ;
- n. And now loud howling wolves arouse the jades
- n. That drag the tragic melancholy night,
- n. Who with their drowsy, slow, and tragic wings
- n. Clip dead men's graves, and from their misty jaws
- n. Breathe foul contagious darkness in the air."

2 Henry VI, IV. i.

Of these lines there is no trace in the *Contention*. The savage words spoken by Iden when he slays Cade and gloats over the death of "a poor famished man" are more like the author of *Tamburlaine* than 'gentle' Shakspere. Cade dies saying : "I that never feared am vanquished by famine and not by valour." Then Iden speaks :

- n. "Die, damned wretch, the curse of her that bare thee,
- n. And as I thrust thy body in with my sword,
- n. So wish I, I might thrust thy soul to hell !
- a. Hence will I drag thee headlong by the heels
- n. Unto a dung-hill which shall be thy grave,
- a. And there cut off thy most ungracious head,

- n. Which I will bear in triumph to the king,
- n. Leaving thy trunk for crows to feed upon."

2 Henry VI, IV. x. 83—90.

The beauty and harmony of more than one passage in the *Henry VI* plays is marred by the introduction of some exaggerated sentiment or far-fetched allusion. For example, in York's speech, *2 Henry VI*, V. i., the lines :

- n. "Oh, I could hew up rocks, and fight with flint,
- a. I am so angry at these abject terms ;
- n. And now, like Ajax Telamonius, .
- n. On sheep or oxen could I spend my fury ! "

or, again, in Clifford's speech, *2 Henry VI*, V. ii., the lines :

- n. "Meet I an infant of the house of York,
- n. Into as many goblets will I cut it
- n. As wild Medea young Absyrtus did " ;

are certainly more in accordance with the unreflecting impetuosity of Marlowe's style than with Shakspere's generally unerring good taste.

Besides those passages which are distinctly in Marlowe's manner there are in the two plays lines which have been closely imitated from lines in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, *Edward II*, and *Massacre at Paris*. In the *Jew of Malta*, III. ii., the Governor of Malta, on finding Ludowick slain, exclaims :

"What sight is this?—My Ludowick slain !
These arms of mine shall be thy sepulchre ! "

In *3 Henry VI*, II. v. 114, 115, the father who has slain his son exclaims :

- n. "These arms of mine shall be thy winding sheet,
- n. My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre."

In *Edw. II*, I. iv., it is said of Gaveston :

"He wears a lord's revenue on his back."

In *2 Henry VI*, I. iii. 78, the Queen says of the Duchess of Gloucester :

- n. "She wears a duke's revenue on her back."

Again, in *Edward II*, II. ii. :

“ Whose mounting thoughts did never creep so low
As to bestow a look on such as you ; ”

and in 2 *Henry VI*, I. ii. 15,

- n. “ And never more abase our sight so low
- n. As to vouchsafe one glance unto the ground.”

Also in *The Massacre at Paris* :

“ And we are graced with wreaths of victory.”—II. vi. 2;

and in 3 *Henry VI*:

- a. “ Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,
- a. And we are graced with wreaths of victory.”—V. iii. 1, 2.

(These lines are of course not found in the *Contention* or the *True Tragedy*.)

The curious verb “to fore slow” occurs in Marlowe’s *Edward II*, and in 3 *Henry VI*:

“ Foreslow no time, sweet Lancaster ; let’s march.”
Edward II, II. iv.

n. “ Foreslow no longer ; make we hence amain.”
3 Henry VI, II. iii. last line.

There is nothing inherently improbable in the supposition that Shakspere and Marlowe re-wrote the plays together. To suppose it, removes from Shakspere the unjust reproach of plagiarism which Greene and others have flung in his teeth ; and which Mr Knight holds (somewhat unnecessarily) would attach to him if he were not the author of the plays in their original state. Shakspere was in many points Marlowe’s faithful disciple. There is a sort of traditional feeling that they were friends—due to the kindly manner in which Shakspere speaks of Marlowe in *As You Like It*:

“ Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might :
‘ He never loved, that loved not at first sight.’ ”

Some community of feeling and action may perhaps be inferred from Chettle’s remarks in *Kind-Harts Dreame*, which seem to imply that in the matter of the *Groatsworth of Wit*, Shakspere and Marlowe felt anger in common and took action in common : “ because on the dead they cannot be auenged, they wilfully forged in their conceites a liuing Author : and after tossing it two and fro, no

remedy, but it must light on me." (*Kind-Harts Dreame*, To the Gentlemen Readers, p. 38, ll. 1—4; reprinted for the New Sh. Soc.)

Marlowe is one of the two contemporary poets from whom Shakspere quotes or copies lines. Besides the line just given from *As You Like It*: "he never loved that loved not at first sight," which is taken from Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, we find two lines, each from the *True Tragedy*,—lines which in my opinion were written by Marlowe, and which also appear in *3 Henry VI*,—imitated by Shakspere, one of the lines in *Macbeth*, and one in *Romeo and Juliet*.

(1) In the *True Tragedy*, Margaret in her anguish at the murder of her son exclaims :

" You have no children—devils, if you had,
The thought of them would then have stopt your rage."

T. T. xxi. 94, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 183, l. 6.

In *Macbeth*, Macduff, when he hears of the slaughter of his children, cries aloud : " He has no children."—IV. iii. 216.

(2) Shakspere puts a parody of the often quoted line :

" Oh tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide "
into Juliet's mouth when she says :

" Oh serpent's heart hid with a flowering face."
Romeo and Juliet, III. ii.

Further : two lines from *2 Tamburlaine* are transplanted into *2 Henry IV*; a line from *Edward II* into *Romeo and Juliet*; and one from *Faust* into *Troylus and Cressida*.

The lines :

" Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia !
What ! can ye draw but twenty miles a day ?"
2 *Tam.* IV. iv. 1,

which begin an extravagant address spoken by Tamburlaine to two captive kings who draw his chariot, Shakspere in a spirit of malicious fun and mockery makes Pistol speak to Mrs Quickly :

" These be good humours, indeed ! Shall pack-horses
And hollow pampered jades of Asia,
Which cannot go but thirty miles a day"
2 *Henry IV*, II. iv.

The line "Gallop apace bright Phœbus thro' the sky," *Edward II*, IV. iii., is copied in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"Gallop apace ye fiery-footed steeds
Toward Phœbus mansion."—III. ii.

The words: "Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
And burst the topless towers of Ilium."

Faust, V. iii.

reappear (and spoiled, I think) in *Troylus and Cressida*:

"Why she is a pearl
Whose price hath launched above a thousand ships."—II. ii.

Careful study has convinced me that the *Henry VI* plays, in their reformed and revised state, were not written by Shakspere unaided and alone. It is not, indeed, possible for us to do more than conjecture who his fellow-worker may have been. The foregoing remarks show that there is, at least, nothing unreasonable, or even improbable, in supposing his fellow-worker to have been Marlowe. I have not proved this; nor can it, in my opinion, be proved with our present knowledge. But could Marlowe's share in the work be demonstrated, it would, I think, go far to remove the mystery which hangs round the authorship of the *Henry VI* plays.

I began this paper by putting to myself the several questions which are included in the one question, "Who wrote *Henry VI*?" I will end it by gathering together in a few words the several answers which I have offered. I believe that Shakspere was the author of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, and that there is some ground for concluding that Marlowe was his fellow worker: that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, were written about the year 1590: that they were not original plays, but were founded on certain older plays known as the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*: and that Marlowe and Greene, and possibly Peele, were the writers of these older plays, which were written some time, perhaps some years, before the 2nd and 3rd Parts of *Henry VI*.

V. Before I leave the subject, I wish to present in one view the conclusions which have been adopted by the best-known Shaksprian scholars:—

I. Shakspere was the author of all four Plays.

a. (1) Theobald says of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, that : “ they contain that troublesome Period of this Prince’s Reign which took in the whole Contention betwixt the two Houses of York and Lancaster : And under that Title were these two Plays first acted and printed ” (The Works of Shakespeare by Mr Theobald, 1757, vol. iv. p. 5). At the end of vol. viii. he gives a table of Shakspere’s Plays in which appear the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*.

(2) Johnson and Steevens think the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are imperfect reports of Shakspere’s *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, filled up by the reporter.

(3) Mr Knight thinks the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are Shakspere’s early sketches of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3. (Essay on *Henry VI* Plays in Ch. Knight’s Pictorial Shakespeare.)

(4) Mr Kenny (see his *Life and Genius of Shakespeare*) thinks that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, were written by Shakspere only, and that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were copies obtained surreptitiously.

(5) Ulrici calls the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* the first youthful endeavours of Shakspere in the field of the historical drama,—the first sketches for the trilogy of *Henry VI*; but thinks that in the earliest impressions they have come down to us only in a mutilated and corrupt condition. (Shakspeare’s Dramatic Art, vol. ii., Bohn’s Ed., 1876.)

(6) Delius thinks the same ; and seeks to account for the imperfection of the plays as printed, by supposing them to have been obtained by the publisher, from actors, and possibly manipulated by some subordinate poet.¹

β. Shakspere wrote 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, and took part in writing the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.

(1) Mr Halliwell thinks that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* when printed in 1594 and 1595, contained the first additions made by Shakspere to originals as yet undiscovered, while *Henry VI*,

¹ For the opinion of Delius I am indebted to Mr Ward; see his “ Hist. of Dramatic Lit.,” vol. i.

Parts 2 and 3, contain his later additions. (Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843. *First sketches of 2 and 3 Henry VI*, p. xix.)

(2) Mr Staunton thinks the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were not “the production of a preceding writer, but were Shakespeare’s first sketches (surreptitiously and inaccurately printed) of what he subsequently rewrote, and entitled *The Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.*” He does not, however, go the extreme length of ascribing the whole of the *Cont.* and *T. T.* to Shakspere. Much of them was probably taken from an earlier version by Greene. (The Plays of Shakespeare edited by Howard Staunton, vol. ii., p. 339, 1859.)

(3) Messrs Clark and Wright believe 2 and 3 *Henry VI* to be by Shakspere, and say of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*: “We cannot agree with Malone on the one hand, that they contain nothing of Shakespeare’s, nor with Mr Knight on the other that they are entirely his work; there are so many internal proofs of his having had a considerable share in their composition, that in accordance with our principle we have reprinted them in a smaller type.” (Camb. Ed. of Shakespeare, vol. v.)

(4) Mr Grant White thinks that Shakspere wrote the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* in partnership with Marlowe and Greene (and perhaps Peele); and that in taking passages, and sometimes whole scenes, from these plays for his *King Henry VI*, he did little more than reclaim his own. (R. Grant White, Shakespeare’s Works, vii. 462.)

(5) Mr and Mrs Cowden Clarke appear to adopt the conclusion arrived at by Mr Halliwell—i. e. that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were Shakspere’s first sketches for 2 and 3 *Henry VI*;—while they grant that until the original Plays upon which 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were based shall be discovered, all must be mere conjecture. (Cassell’s Shakespeare, vol. ii., p. 355; edited by Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke.)

(6) Mr Rives adopts the view of the question taken by Grant White. (Essay on the *Henry VI* Plays, by G. L. Rives, 1875.)

(7) Mr Swinburne thinks that the first edition we possess of plays relating to Henry VI (i. e. *Cont.* 1594, *True Tragedy*, 1595) is a partial transcript of the text of those plays as it stood after the first

additions had been made by Shakspere to the original work of Marlowe and others. (Fortnightly Review for Jan., 1876.)

II. Shakspere wrote only 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, and took no part in writing the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.

(1) Malone is of opinion that Greene and Peele wrote the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*; and that Shakspere working alone constructed the *Henry VI* plays out of them.

(2) Chalmers (says Mr Collier in his Ed. of Shakespeare, vol. iv., p. 111, 1858) without scruple assigned the *True Tragedy* to Christopher Marlowe.

(3) Mr Dyce strongly suspects that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written by Marlowe; and thinks that there is no reason to doubt that Shakspere re-wrote them. See Dyce's Ed. of Shakspere.

(4) Hallam and Collier think that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, are by Shakspere; but that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are wholly by some one else. Collier decides in favour of Greene as the author. (Hallam's Hist. of European Literature, and J. P. Collier's Ed. of Shakespeare, vol. iv., p. 111, 1858.)

(5) Gervinus agrees with Mr Collier, and in like manner decides in favour of Greene as the writer of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. (I quote from Ulrici, Shakespeare's Dramatic Art, vol. ii., p. 315.)

(6) Dr Ingleby says that in his Paper in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1868, vol. ix, New Series, "On some traces of the Authorship of the works attributed to Shakspere," he arrived, but with some hesitation, at the same conclusions as I do.¹

¹ After declaring his conviction, that some day evidence will be found to establish Charles Knight's conjecture, "that Marlow [in "The Taming of A Shrew,"] and Shakspere [in "The Taming of The Shrew,"] used one and the same original in the composition of their dramas," Dr Ingleby says:

"I wish it were possible for us to see our way as clearly, in dealing with 'The First Part of the Contention' and 'The True Tragedie.' They seem to have been originally the joint compositions of Marlow and Robert Greene, not improbably touched by Shakespeare subsequently, and exhibiting those touches in the edition of 1619; anyhow, Marlow's hand is unmistakably apparent in both plays. . . ."

"I am, however, far from sure that the argument founded on these and other similarities between the 'Contention,' and the works of Marlow and of

(7) Mr Ward thinks that Shakspere in *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, elaborated the two old plays of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*; but that the authorship of these remains unknown. Vol. i., p. 371.

III. Shakspere wrote, wholly or in part, 2 and 3 *Henry VI* (no opinion on *Contention* and *True Tragedy*).

(1) Farmer thinks that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, were *not* wholly by Shakspere. Having quoted from the Epilogue to *Henry V* the line :

“For their sakes in your fair minds let this acceptance take,” he says that this would be impudent if the *Henry VI* plays were Shakspere's own.

(2) Tyrwhitt attributes the *Henry VI* plays to Shakspere.

IV. Shakspere had no part in any of the four Plays.

Mr Fleay thinks that Marlowe and Peele wrote *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, of which the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are makeshift pirated versions. (Macmillan's Magazine, Nov. 1875.)

In writing my Paper I have received very kind help and encouragement from Mr Furnivall and Professor Dowden, for which I wish to express my gratitude.

Greene, would not go to prove that some of the very additions to the old plays in II and III ‘*Henry VI*,’ with which Shakespeare is credited, were the work of one or other of his contemporaries. I give one example to show what I mean. In II ‘*Henry VI*,’ i. 3, occurs the line :—

‘She bears a duke's revenue on her back.’

In the 4to, 1619, of the ‘First Part of the Contention,’ the line stands thus :—

‘She bears a duke's whole revenues on her back.’

but it is wholly wanting in the earlier editions ; and it is this edition of 1619, which Mr Halliwell regards as an intermediate version, presenting Shakespeare's first draft of II ‘*Henry VI*.’ Now this very addition is almost wholly the property of Marlow, for in his ‘*Edward II*,’ we read, —

‘He wears a lord's revenue on his back.’

Here then is an intricate problem. Was Marlow the amender of the old play of the ‘First Part of the Contention’? and was Shakespeare a purloiner from Marlow? *Perhaps neither. . . .*

“If Shakespeare had no hand in these two old plays, it is demonstrable that more than four-sevenths of these plays were borrowed, and appropriated *verbatim*, by Shakespeare, in the composition of the second and third parts of ‘*King Henry VI*.’ Mr Halliwell, however, thinks it not unlikely that they are both *rifacimenti* by Shakespeare of older plays (‘The First Sketches of II and III Henry VI,’ edited by Halliwell for the Shakesp. Soc. 1848, introd. p. 19), a conjecture which is unhappily unsupported by evidence, or it would relieve Shakespeare from the charge of appropriation.” p. 274, 279. See also Dr Ingleby's Introduction to New Sh. Soc. Allusion-Books, 1874, p. vi.

DISCUSSION. MR FURNIVALL ON 2 AND 3
HENRY VI.

MR FURNIVALL. While joining heartily in the thanks that have been so freely expresss to Miss Lee for her excellent Paper, the fruit of such long and careful work and thought, I yet look forward to a further treatment of the plays by some critic who will, like Spedding with *Henry VIII*, like Spalding and Hickson with *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, take up each scene of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, and say, ‘This, I think Greene rehandled by Shakspere in such and such parts. That, I think Marlowe, retoucht by Shakspere. The other, I hold to be Greene revised by Marlowe. And in each case I give such and such reasons for my opinion’. Then we shall have definite statements before us in each scene, and can say ‘I agree’, or ‘I differ’, and give our reasons for our opinions. At present, the matter is left in too vague a state for profitable discussion, discussion which means business, and brings the issue to a point, the evidence to a shape for a verdict to be given on it.

Critics seem to have made up their minds that only Greene, Marlowe, Peele, and Shakspere, had a hand in these plays. And yet there is one very markt feature in certain parts of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, which no reader can miss noticing, but which no critic has ever yet assignd to any of the authors he supposes to have been a joint writer of the plays. I allude to the many animal similes and metaphors*. As Mr Henry Stack puts it (with my enlargements):—

“For metaphors, the play is a zoological garden, pasture, and farmyard, combined. Lions, curs¹, oxen^{6 & 11}, foxes^{4 & 7}, falcons⁵,

* They are doubtless suitable to plays of cruelty and vengeance; but their frequency and specialty need recognition.

¹ Small curs are not regarded when they grin: [new]
 But great men tremble when the lion roars. [new]

2 *Hen. VI*, III. i. 19, 20; see *Drones*.

(The curs of V. i. 146, 151, come naturally with the Warwick bears, a bear and ragged staff being the Warwick arms, *ib.* 203.)

⁶ Methinks he should stand in fear of fire, being ournt i' the hand for stealing of sheep.—2 *H. VI*, IV. ii. 68. [alterd]

Cade. They fell before thee like sheep and oxen, and thou behavedst thyself as if thou hadst been in thine own slaughter-house (see the calf extract, 11).—2 *Hen. VI*, IV. iii. 3. [1 new. 2 alterd]

On sheep or oxen could I spend my fury.—2 *Hen. VI*, V. i. 27. [new]

sheep⁶, chickens⁷, wrens⁸, drones⁹, caterpillars¹⁰, calves¹¹, sucking lambs¹², harmless doves¹², hateful ravens¹², mournful crocodiles¹⁴, snakes in flowery banks¹⁴, empty eagles⁷, hungry kites⁷ &¹⁵, labouring spiders¹⁵, sharp-quill'd porcupines¹⁶, basilisks¹⁷, scorpions¹⁸,

n. ⁴ The fox barks not when he would steal the lamb.—2 Hen. VI, III. i. 55.

But when the fox hath once got in his nose,

He'll soon find means to make the body follow.—3 H. VI, IV. vii. 25.

n. ⁷ Were't not all one, an *empty eagle* were set

n. To guard the *chicken* from a *hungry kite* . . .

n. So the poor *chicken* should be sure of death.

n. *Suf.* Madam, 'tis true : and were't not madness, then,

n. To make the *fox* surveyor of the fold?—2 Hen. VI, III. i. 248—253.

n. ⁵ But what a point, my lord, your *falcon* made.

2 Hen. VI, I. 15. See too l. 12.

old. ⁸ Came he right now to sing a *raven's note* . . . (see ¹²)

o. And thinks he that the chirping of a *nren* . . .

Can chase away the first conceivèd sound?—2 H. VI, III. ii. 40-3.

o. Come, *basilish*,

a. And kill the innocent gazer with thy sight.—2 H. VI, III. ii. 52.

⁹ *Drones* suck not *eagle's* blood, but rob *bee-hives*.—2 H. VI, IV. i. 109.
(This must be the cur and lion aphorism man of III. i. 19, 20. See note ¹, p. 280, and note ², p. 283.)

o. The commons, like an angry *hive of bees*

a. That want their leader, scatter up and down

a. And care not who they sting in his revenge.—2 H. VI, III. ii. 125.

n. ¹⁰ Thus are my blossoms blasted in the bud,

n. And *caterpillars* eat my leaves away.—2 H. VI, III. i. 90.

n. ¹¹ And as the butcher takes away the *calf*,

n. And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,

n. Bearing it to the bloody slaughter-house.—2 H. VI, III. i. 210.

n. Then is sin struck down like an *ox*, and iniquity's throat cut like a *calf*.—2 H. VI, IV. ii. 29.

n. ¹² Our kinsman Gloucester is as innocent

n. From meaning treason to our royal person,

n. As is the sucking *lamb* or *harmless dove*.—2 H. VI, III. i. 71.

n. *Queen.* Seems he a *dove*? his feathers are but borrow'd,

n. For he's disposèd as the *hateful raven*: (see ⁸)

n. Is he a *lamb*? his skin is surely lent him, (see ⁶)

n. For he's inclined as is the *ravenous wolf*.—2 H. VI, III. i. 75-8.

¹⁴ Gloucester's show

n. Beguiles him as the *mournful crocodile*

n. With sorrow snares relenting passengers,

n. Or as the *snake* roll'd in a *flowering bank*,

n. With shining checker'd slough doth sting a child.—2 H. VI, III. i. 226.

a. ¹⁵ Who finds the *heifer* dead and bleeding fresh,

o. And sees fast by, a butcher with an axe,

o. But will suspect 'twas he that made the slaughter?

o. Who finds the *partridge* in the *puttock's* nest,

a. But may imagine how the *bird* was dead,

o. Although the *kite* soar with unbloodied beak?—2 H. VI, III. ii. 188—193

n. ¹⁶ his thighs, with darts,

n. Were almost like a *sharp-quill'd porpentine*.—2 H. VI, III. i. 363.

heifers, partridges, puttocks¹⁵, screech-owls¹⁷, lizards¹⁷, adders²⁰, serpents²¹ & ¹⁶, snakes²², and lastly, loud-howling wolves³ & ¹², to say nothing of bears, are laid under sudden contributions to express the motives, designs, and misfortunes, of the *dramatis personæ*. Excise these, and you would reduce the play (2 Hen. VI) by one half."

Who then is this farmyard and menagerie man who often indulges in aphorisms? He is in 3 Hen. VI too.¹ Is he one, or two or

*new.*¹⁷ Their chiefest prospect, murdering *basilisks*!

old. Their softest touch as smart as *lizards' stings*!

o. Their music frightful as the *serpent's hiss*!

o. And boding *screech-owls* make the concert full!

2 H. VI, III. ii. 324-7. (? Marlowe) See p. 254-5, note, above.

*a.*¹⁸ Seek not a *scorpion's nest*,

n. Nor set no footing on this unkind shore.—2 H. VI, III. ii. 86.

*n.*¹⁹ My brain more busy than the *labouring spider*,

n. Weaves tedious snares to trap mine enemies.—2 H. VI, III. i. 339.

*n.*²⁰ What! art thou, like the *adder*, waxen deaf?—2 H. VI, III. ii. 76.

*n.*²¹ Were there a *serpent* seen, with forkèd tongue,

n. That sly glided towards your majesty . . .

n. they will guard you, whether you will or no,

n. From such fell *serpents* as false Suffolk is.

2 H. VI, III. ii. 259—266.

*n.*²² I fear me you but warm the starvèd *snake*.—2 H. VI, III. i. 343.

*n.*³ And now loud-howling *wolves* arouse the jades.—2 H. VI, IV. i. 3.

a. This is the shepherd beaten from thy side,

a. And *wolves* are gnarling who shall gnaw thee first.

2 H. VI, III. i. 192.

¹ He certainly comes in in II. ii, if not before, and is there the man of the cur and lion and drones^{1 & 9}, above.

old. To whom do *lions* cast their gentle looks? . . . 11

“ Whose hand is that, the forest *bear* doth lick? . . . 13

“ Who 'scapes the lurking *serpent's* mortal sting? . . . 15

“ The smallest *worm* will turn, being trodden on; 17 [notes¹ & ⁹ above]

a. And *doves* will peck, in safeguard of their brood. 18

a. As venom *toads* or *lizards'* dreadful stings. II. ii. 138.

a. The common people swarm like summer *flies*:

a. And whither fly the *gnats* but to the sun? II. vi. 8, 9.

o. Bring forth that fatal *screech-owl* to our house. II. vi. 56.

o. For though they cannot greatly *sting* to hurt,

o. Yet look to have them *buzz*, to offend thine ears. II. vi. 94-5.

The new lines on the greyhounds and hare, at the end of II. v. 130-1, look very like Shakspere's.

Among earlier passages are:—

[*new*] such safety finds

[*new*] The trembling *lamb*, environed with *wolves*. I. i. 242.

So looks the pent-up *lion* o'er the wretch

[*new*] That trembles under his devouring paws. I. iv.

“ And all my followers to the eager foe

Turn back and fly, like ships before the wind,

three? If he's Shakspere, if he's Greene¹, if he's Marlowe, or all of 'em, let him be recognizd, and parallel passages from him² produced or referrd to. But I cannot consent to consider as final, any opinion on the authors of *2 and 3 Hen. VI* which passes over in silence a staring characteristic of this kind³, and refuses to notice it when challengd so to do.

Further, when the critic I want, comes, I expect he will confess that, though he can say certainly of a speech like Humphrey Duke of Gloster's in *2 Hen. VI*, I. i. 79—103, or King Henry's in *3 Hen. VI*, II. v., 'This is Shakspere's', yet he soon loses the feeling that the revision of the play bears marks of Shakspere's hand⁴. I expect he will agree with Miss Lee—and with me, for it was a conviction that I expresst in my first lecture on *2 Hen. VI*, long before Miss Lee wrote me hers—that Marlowe, or some one of his school, helpt in the revision of the plays; and I should not be surprisd if the said critic held that there were—indeed, I feel sure that he will hold that there are,—parts of the finisht plays for which neither Shakspere nor Marlowe is responsible, so rough, ranty, or poor are they. I could willingly accept as many hands in the Folio *2 and 3 Henry VI* as there are in *1 Henry VI*. Every fresh time I read *2 and 3 Henry VI*, the less share in them am I inclind to set down to Shakspere,

[new] Or lambs purs'd by hunger-starvèd wolves. I. iv. 5.

a. So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons. I. iv. 41. (raven's: old.)
(cur, woodcock, coney, wolves, tigers, all old, follow.)

old. But you are more inhuman, more inexorable,

o. O, ten times more, than tigers of Hyrcania. I. iv. 155.

n. Methought he bore him in the thickest troop 13

o. As doth a lion in a herd of neat:

[new] Or as a bear encompass round with dogs,

“ Who having pincht a few, and made them cry,

,, The rest stand all aloof, and bark at him *. II. i. 13—17.

o. like the night-owl's lazy flight,

o. a. Or like a lazy thrasher with a flail. II. i. 130-1.

For later instances see V. vi., &c.

¹ "Many of [Greene's] dramas breathe in some degree that indescribable freshness, that air blown from over English homesteads and English meads, which we recognise as a Shaksperean characteristic, and which belongs to none but a wholly and truly national art."—Prof. Ward, *Hist. Dram. Lit.*, i. 225. I agree with Prof. Ward in his praise of Greene—the man with best claim to be Shakspere's predecessor in comedy—as heartily as I disagree with him in thinking "that Greene had no share in the old plays on which the *Second and Third Parts of Henry VI* were founded."—i. 224.

² See the lion above, p. 259.

³ You might as well pass over the ryme of one writer in *1 Hen. VI*.

⁴ It's a stronger feeling than comes over one in reading *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

* ? This by Shakspere from the bear-baitings he saw when 11 at Kenilworth or afterwards in Paris Gardens, Southwark.

though I cannot shut him out of them. As to his share in *The Contention* and *True Tragedy*: if I could make up my mind that the first sketch of Cade—with which I put the first sketch of Grumio in the ‘Taming of A Shrew’—was not Shakspere’s, I should gladly agree with Miss Lee, as I even now strongly incline to do, that Shakspere had no hand in these sketch-plays. The man who could write the first Grumio, Sander,—which is too the name of the ‘Poore man’ or cripple in the *Contention*, p. 22, old Sh. Soc. ed.—could write the first Cade, I think, or *vice versa*.

There are few things that I regret more in Shakspere’s career than this, that he didn’t turn back to the superb subject of these *Henry VI* plays, and write a fresh set on it. To an old Arthur man like myself, the reproduction of the Lancelot and Guinevere love in Suffolk and Queen Margaret, though with bitterer end, gives a strange interest to the drama. And when this thread is woven with the others of Margaret’s ambition cutting down Gloster, the sole support of her and her husband’s throne; the working out of her punishment for this, through the quarrels of the nobles and the insidious Richard’s schemies; when one sees this Queen of ‘peerless feature . . . valiant courage and undaunted spirit’, robbd of her love, her kingdom, and her child; the current of her being changd; the woman turnd into a demon and a fury; then, dethroned, uttering the dread curse of Fate and Vengeance on the crafty cynical Richard in the pride of his success, and then witnessing the fulfilment of that curse on him defiant, fearing Death as little as he feard Sin, I say you have a combination of personal and political passions and motives which, had Shakspere gone back to it later in life, would have given the world the finest historical dramas it will ever own¹.

Miss Lee has kindly undertaken to edit the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* for us in parallel columns with 2 and 3 *Henry VI*. In the course of this work, I hope and believe that she will be able to come to even more definite results than she has yet attaind. And though my remarks may seem to imply ungratefulness for all the time and thought she has devoted to the subject for us, it is not so. I do admire her power and care—let any one contrast her Paper with the mere reproduction of Mr Grant White’s view in the late Cambridge Prize-Essay on the same subject, and see what the difference between them implies—I envy her the advance that she, so young, has made, after her start under her brilliant leader, Professor Dowden. But I am sure that she will not stand still where she is; I cannot doubt that she will give us hereafter even a clearer and better judgment than she has yet deliverd on this *Henry VI* question, the most difficult of all Shakspere problems.

¹ And I am sure that in them would not have been wanting the picture of our old Furnivall, ‘the great Alcides of the field, Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury’ (1 *Hen. VI*, IV. vii. 60), which Nash recorded as so moving the Elizabethans. (A.D. 1592. *Pierce Penilesse*, p. 62, old Sh. Soc.)

Miss Lee's edition for us may have to be a 3- or 4-Text one, with the 4to of 1619, and perhaps a revis'd text. Such alterations as occur in some parts of the 1619 Quarto—even allowing that the main ones are only four or five—*must* be noticet and accounted for in any complete view of the plays. Here are the 4 strongest changes, from Mr Halliwell's Preface and Notes in the old Shakespeare Society's edition:—

1 Cont. 1594, 1600, I. ii.	1619. Cont. I. ii.	1623. 2 Hen. VI, I. ii.
This night when I was laid in bed, I dreamt that	This night when I was laid in bed, I dreamt	METHOUGHT this staff, mine office-badge in court,
This, my staff, mine office-badge in court,	That this my staff, mine office-badge in court,	Was broke in <i>travain</i> ; by whom I HAVE FORGOT,
Was broke in two, and on the ends were plac'd	Was broke in <i>travain</i> ; by whom I cannot guess: <i>But, as I think, by the cardinal. What it bodes,</i>	<i>But, as I think, IT WAS by the cardinal,</i>
The heads of the Cardinal of Winchester,	<i>God knows; and on the ends were plac'd</i> The heads of <i>Edmund Duke of Somerset,</i>	And on the PIECES OF THE BROKEN WAND
And William de la Poole, first duke of Suffolk.	And William De la Poole, first duke of Suffolk.	Were plac'd the heads of <i>Edmund duke of Somerset,</i>
		And William de la Poole, first duke of Suffolk, THIS WAS MY DREAM: what it DOOTH bode, God knows.

Who is responsible for the italic and clarendon parts of the 1619 edition? who for the small-caps part of the 1623? As Mr Halliwell says: “It will be at once seen that these differences (between the 1594 and 1619 versions) cannot be the result of” such “emendation” as produced “the differences of the second Folio” from the First. “I will produce another and a stronger instance. In Act I. sc. ii, the edition of 1594 has these two lines:

But ere it be long, I'll go before them all,
Despite of all that seek to cross me thus.”

In the Quarto of 1619 and the Folio of 1623, “instead of these two lines, we have a different speech, an elaboration of the . . . two” lines of the 1594 Quarto (the spelling is modernizd):—

1619. Contention, Act I. sc. ii.	1623. 2 Henry VI, Act I. sc. ii.
I'll come after you, for I cannot go before, As long as Gloster bears this base and humble mind:	FOLLOW I MUST: I cannot go before, WHILE Gloster bears this base and humble mind:

1619. *Contention*, I. ii.

*Were I a man, and Protector, as he is,
I'd reach to th' crown, or make some
hop headless:*

*And being but a woman, I'll not [be]
behind
For playing of my part, in spite of all
That seek to cross me thus.*

Again, compare :

1594. *Contention*,
p. 19.He knowes his maister
loues to be aloft.*Humphrey. Faith my
Lord, it is but a base
minde*That can sore no higher
then a Falkons pitch.1594. *Contention*, p. 25.*The second vvas Edmund
of Langly,²
Duke of Yorke. [see
fift in 1619.]**The third vvas Lyonell
Duke of Clarence.**The fourth vvas Iohn of
Gaunt,**The Duke of Lancaster.**The fifth vvas Roger
Mortemor,² Earle of
March.**The sixt vvas sir Thomas
of Woodstocke.**William of Winsore vvas
the seventh and last.**Novv, Edvvard the
blacke Prince he died
before his father, and*1623. 2 *Henry VI*, I. ii.*Were I a man, A DUKE, and NEXT
OF BLOOD,**I WOULD REMOVE THESE TEDIOUS
STUMBLING-BLOCKS,
AND SMOOTH MY WAY UPON THEIR
headless NECKS :**And, being a woman, I will not be
SLACK
To play my part in FORTUNE'S PA-
GEANT.*1619. 1 *Contention*.
(Halliwell, p. 83.)*They know their master
sores a faulcon's pitch.**Hum. Faith, my lord,
it's but a base minde**That sores no higher
than a bird can sore.*1619. 1 *Contention*.
(Halliwell, p. 87.)*The second was William
of Hatfield,
Who dyed young.**The third was Lyonell,
duke of Clarence.**The fourth was Iohn of
Gaunt,**The Duke of Lancaster.**The fift was *Edmund
of Langley,
Duke of Yorke.***The sixt was William of
Windsore,
Who dyed young.**The seauenth and last
was Sir Thomas of
Woodstocke, duke of
Yorke.**Now Edward the blacke
prince dyed before his
father, leauing be-*1623. 2 *Henry VI*, II. i.
12—14, p. 125.*They know their Master
loues to be aloft,
AND BEARES HIS
THOUGHTS ABOVE HIS
Faulcons Pitch.**Glost. My Lord, 'tis
but a base ignoble
minde,**That MOUNTS no higher
then a Bird can sore.*1623. 1st Folio, p. 127-8,
2 *Hen. VI*, II. ii. 12-52.*The second, William of
Hatfield; AND the
third,**Lionel, Duke of Clar-
ence; NEXT TO WHOM,
Was Iohn of Gaunt, the
Duke of Lancaster;**The fift, was Edmond
Langley, Duke of
Yorke;**The sixt, was Thomas of
Woodstock, Duke of
GLOSTER;**William of Windsor was
the seventh, and last.*¹ Mr Halliwell prints *w* for *vv* of the original.² Both mistakes.

1594. *Contention*, p. 25.

left / behinde him Richard, that after-
vvards vvas King, Crovnde by / the
name of Richard the second, and he died
vvithout an heire./

* Edmund of Langly Duke of Yorke* died, and left behind him tvvo / daughters, Anne and Elinor./ Lyonell Duke of Clarence died, and left behinde Alice, Anne, / and Elinor, that vvas after married to my father, and by her I / claime the Crovne, as the true heire to Lyonell Duke / of Clarence, the third sonne to Edward the third. Now sir. In the / time of Richards raigne, Henry of Bullingbrooke, sonne and heire / to John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster fourth sonne to Edward / the third, he claimde the Crowne, deposde the Merthfull King, and / as both you know, in Pomphret Castle harmellesse Richard was / shamefully murthered, and so by Richard's death came the house of / Lancas-
ter vnto the Crowne./ *Sals.* Sauing your tale my Lord, as I haue heard, in the raigne / of Bullenbrooke, the Duke of Yorke did claime the Crowne, and / but for Owin Glendor, had bene King./

1619. 1 *Contention*.
(Halliwell, p. 87.)

hinde him two sonnes; Edward, borne at An-
golesme, who died young, and Richard,
that was after crowned king by the name of
Richard the second, who dyed without an
heyre.

Lyonell, duke of Clar-
ence, dyed, and left him one only daughter,
named Phillip, who was married to
Edmund Mortimer, earle of March, and Ulster: and so by her I
claime the crowne, as the true heire to
Lyonell, duke of Clarence, third sonne to Edward the
third. Now, sir, in
time of Richard's reigne, Henry of
Bullingroke, sonne and heire to John
of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, fourth
sonne to Edward the third, he claimed
the crowne, deposd the merthfull king,
and as both, you know, in Pomfret castle
harmellesse Richard was
shamefully murthered, and so by
Richard's death came the house of Lancas-
ter vnto the crowne.

&c. &c. &c.

1623. 1st Folio, p. 127-8,
2 *Hen. VI*, II. ii. 12-52.

And left behinde him
Richard, HIS ONLY
SONNE,
WHO after EDWARD
THE THIRD'S DEATH,
RAIGN'D AS King,
TILL Henry Bulling-
brooke, Duke of Lan-
caster,

THE ELDEST Sonne and
Heire OF John of
Gaunt,
CROWN'D BY THE NAME
OF HENRY THE
FOURTH,
SEIZ'D ON THE REALME,
depos'd the RIGHT-
FULL King,
SENTHISPOORE QUEENE
TO FRANCE, FROM
WHENCE SHE CAME,
And HIM TO Pumfret;
WHERE, as ALL you
know,

Harmelesse Richard was
murthered TRAITER-
OUSLY.

Warr. FATHER, THE
DUKE HATH TOLD
THE TRUTH;
THUS GOT the House of
Lancaster the Crowne.
Yorke. WHICH NOW
THEY HOLD BY FORCE,
AND NOT BY RIGHT:
FOR RICHARD, THE
FIRST SONNES HEIRE,
BEING DEAD,

THE ISSUE OF THE NEXT
SONNE SHOULD HAUE
REIGN'D.

Salisb. BUT WILLIAM
OF HATFIELD dyed
WITHOUT AN HEIRE.
Yorke. THE THIRD
SONNE, Duke of Clar-
ence,
FROM WHOSE LINE I
clayme the Crowne,
HAD ISSUE Phillip, a
Daughter,

1594. *Contention*, p. 25.

Yorke. True. But so it fortuned then, by meanes of that mon / strouis rebel Glendor, the noble Duke of York was done to death, / and so euer since the heires of Iohn of Gaunt haue possessed the Crowne. But if the issue of the elder should succeed before the is/sue of the yonger, then am I lawfull heire vnto the kingdome./

1623. 1st Folio, p. 127-8, 2 *Hen. VI*, II. ii. 12-52.

Who marryed Edmond Mortimer, Earle of March: EDMOND HAD ISSUE, ROGER, EARLE OF MARCH; ROGER HAD ISSUE, EDMOND, ANNE, AND ELIANOR.

Salisb. THIS EDMOND, in the Reigne of Bulling-brooke,

AS I HAUE READ, LAYD clayme VNTO the Crowne, And but for Owen Glendour, had beene King; WHO KEPT HIM IN CAPTIUITIE, TILL HE DYED. BUT, TO THE REST.

Yorke. HIS ELDEST SISTER, ANNE, MY MOTHER, BEING HEIRE VNTO THE CROWNE, MARRYED RICHARD, EARLE OF CAMBRIDGE, WHO WAS TO EDMOND LANGLEY, EDWARD THE THIRDS FIFT SONNES SONNE; BY HER I CLAYME THE KINGDOME: SHE WAS HEIRE TO ROGER, EARLE OF MARCH, WHO WAS THE SONNE OF EDMOND MORTIMER, WHO MARRYED PHILLIP, SOLE DAUGHTER VNTO LIONEL, DUKE OF CLARENCE. So, if the Issue of the elder SONNE Succeed before the younger, I am KING.

Lastly, I give an instance of one change¹ in the Folio of 1623, which I hold not to be Shakspere's, and I do not believe to be Marlowe's. By Greene, or whatever aphorism man wrote the cur-and-lion and worm-and-dove lines above, note 1, p. 280, note 1, l. 17, 18, p. 282, it may be. The rant is worthy of one of the Kyd school.

1594. *Contention*, p. 49.

Suffolke. This villain being but Captain of a Pinnais, Threatens more plagues then mightie
Abradas,
 The great Masadonian Pyrate,

1623. 2 *Henry VI*, IV. i. 104—114.

Suf. O THAT I WERE A GOD, TO SHOOT FORTH THUNDER UPON THESE PALTRY, SERUILE, ABIECT DRUDGES²: SMALL THINGS MAKE BASE MEN PROUD. This Villaine HEERE, Being Captaine of a Pinnace, threatens more Then BARGULUS the STRONG ILLYRIAN Pyrate. DRONES SUCKE NOT EAGLES BLOOD, BUT ROB BEE-HIUES: IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT I SHOULD DYE

¹ Compare the new "Base dunghill villain and mechanical" in 2 *Hen. VI*, I. iii., near the end.

² I believe there are many like ones, but have no time now to hunt them out.

1594. *Contention*, p. 49.

Thy wordes addes fury and not remorse in me.

1623. 2 *Henry VI*, IV. i. 104—114.

BY SUCH A LOWLY VASSALL AS THY SELFE.

Thy words MOUE RAGE, and not remorse in me :
I GO OF MESSAGE FROM THE QUEENE TO FRANCE :
I CHARGE THEE WAFT ME SAFELY CROSSE THE CHANNELL.

MISS LEE :—I. Mr Furnivall looks forward to the appearance of a critic who will be ready to take up the *Henry VI* Plays, and divide them scene by scene, and line by line, between the later and the earlier writers, saying : “Here Shakspere is reforming Greene”; “here is reforming Marlowe”; etc. In order to do this it will be necessary to say definitely who was the author of each separate scene and each separate line of the *Contention* and of the *True Tragedy*. When I wrote my paper on *Henry VI* some months ago I refused to do this, both because I felt some uncertainty as to whether or not Peele had any share in the old Plays; and, also, because I felt (what, indeed, I still feel) that it is hazardous for any person with only the evidence of style to guide him to say positively that such particular words were written by such a particular writer. If, however, it be thought by others that I am leaving my task unfinished, and that it remains for some one else to undertake what I have not had the energy and the pluck to do, I feel bound to give up my own wishes in the matter, and to say to the best of my judgment what parts of the *Contention* and of the *True Tragedy* were most probably written by Marlowe, and what parts by Greene.

With respect to the additions and alterations found in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* I can speak with greater confidence. Here the evidence, both external and internal, as to authorship appears to me tenfold stronger than in the case of the plays in their unreformed state. By far the greater number of new lines were, I cannot doubt, written by Shakspere; and though one is conscious of Marlowe’s influence from beginning to end of the plays—in the metrical structure, in the language, in the impetuous hurry of the action; and further—though many passages were probably written by Marlowe’s hand; nevertheless the *Henry VI* Plays belong essentially to Shakspere, and to no one else.

Many lines in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* which I attribute to Shakspere are poor lines—lines which others will think, which indeed I myself feel, are unworthy of him. But they will be found for the most part to occur in passages which had been left bad, and rough, and unfinished by the earlier writer. Every experienced craftsman will tell us how hopeless, how well nigh impossible the effort always is to turn bad work into good. Besides, no one will persuade me that Shakspere wrote these *Henry VI* Plays for the love of the subject

itself, or for the sake of his art. Work such as this belongs to that period of his life when he had to write to live, and when it was a necessity to carry out the wishes of others rather than his own.

The scheme which will be found further on will show (1) what parts of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* I ascribe to Shakspere, and what to Marlowe; (2) what parts of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* I ascribe to Marlowe, and what to Greene.

II. I am quite ready to concede to Mr Furnivall that the number of animal and insect metaphors found in *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, is a singular feature of these plays. The two plays contain more than forty allusions of this nature,—a greater number, I should think, than are to be found in any other English play, or any two connected plays. Thus we have:—lions, tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, greyhounds, small curs, chafed bulls, herds of neat, calves, dead heifers, harmless sheep, ewes, sucking lambs, deer, hares, coney, princely eagles, empty eagles, hawks, falcons, kites with unbloodied beaks, hungry kites, puttocks, ravens with dismal tune, hateful ravens, screech-owls, night-owls, swans, partridges, wood-cocks, poor chickens, harmless doves, wrens, encaged birds, mournful crocodiles, basilisks, serpents with forked tongues, snakes with shining checker'd slough, starved snakes, adders, lizards, venom toads, smallest worms, caterpillars, scorpions, labouring spiders, summer flies, gnats.

Mr Furnivall seems to hold that these similes indicate a distinct and separate hand¹ at work at *Henry VI*,—another writer than Shakspere (or Marlowe); an undiscovered “farmyard and menagerie man,” as he expresses it. I do not myself believe this: 1st, because I do not know of any one particular dramatist to whom such constant use of animal metaphors could be ascribed as a special characteristic of his style; and, 2nd, because many of the metaphors in question appear in passages of which I cannot for an instant doubt that Shakspere was the author. In writing such lines as the following I do not think that Shakspere would have listened to the advice, or brooked the interference of any man:

- n.²* “*Henry.* Thou never didst them wrong nor no man wrong:
- n.* And as the butcher takes away the calf,
- n.* And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,
- n.* Bearing it to the bloody slaughter house;
- n.* Even so, remorseless, have they borne him hence:
- n.* And as the dam runs lowing up and down,
- n.* Looking the way her harmless young one went,

¹ I ask for information, see p. 282-3. In my own copy, I find to different animal passages old notes: ‘? Greene’ in some cases, ‘? Shakspere’ in others, ‘? Marlowe’ in a few. The aphorism man, whose work also appears in 3 *Henry VI*, II. ii., I had supposed to be Greene.—F. J. F.

² See note to p. 264.

- n. And can do nought but wail her darling's loss ;
 n. Even so myself bewails good Gloster's case,
 n. With sad unhelpful tears ; and with dimm'd eyes
 n. Look after him, and cannot do him good ;
 n. So mighty are his vowed enemies.
 a. His fortunes I will weep ; and twixt each groan,
 a. Say—‘Who's a traitor ? Gloster he is none.’ [Exit HENRY.
 n. Queen. Free lords, cold snow melts with the sun's hot beams.
 n. Henry my lord is cold in great affairs ;
 n. Too full of foolish pity ; and Gloster's show
 n. Beguiles him as the mournful crocodile
 n. With sorrow snares relenting passengers ;
 n. Or as the snake, rolled in a flowering bank,
 n. With shining checker'd slough, doth sting a child,
 n. That, for the beauty, thinks it excellent.
 n. Believe me, lords, were none more wise than I,
 n. (And yet, herein, I judge mine own wit good)
 n. This Gloster should be quickly rid the world,
 n. To rid us from the fear we have of him.
- * * * *
- n. York. 'Tis York that hath more reason for his death.
 n. But, my lord cardinal, and you, my lord of Suffolk,
 n. Say as you think, and speak it from your souls ;—
 n. Were 't not all one, an empty eagle were set
 n. To guard the chicken from a hungry kite,
 n. As place duke Humphrey for the king's protector ?
 n. Queen. So the poor chicken should be sure of death."

2 *Henry VI*, III. i.

Or turning to 3 *Henry VI*, take the new lines at the close of Act II.
 sc. v. As to these Mr Furnivall admits that they "look very like Shakspere's."

- a. “Queen Margaret. Mount you, my lord : towards Berwick
 post amain.
 n. Edward and Richard like a brace of greyhounds,
 n. Having the fearful, flying hare in sight,
 n. With fiery eyes, sparkling for very wrath,
 n. And bloody steel grasp'd in their ireful hands,
 a. Are at our backs ; and therefore hence amain.”

Shakspere had as yet been only a few years in London, and still had fresh in his memory the little tragedies with which country life makes us acquainted. It is, indeed, noticeable that—with a few exceptions—the animals introduced into the *Henry VI* plays, and not mentioned in the originals, are animals with which Shakspere must have been familiar when he lived among the woods and green fields of Warwickshire.

There are a sufficient number of allusions to animals in Marlowe and in Shakspere to justify my belief that it was they who inserted these animal metaphors in the *Henry VI* plays. Besides, many are transplanted out of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, and Greene's predilection for animals—both real and fabulous—is well known. "Did I," exclaims Nash, indignant at being accused of having imitated Greene, "euer write of cony-catching? stufft my stile with hearbs and stones? . . . if not, how then do I imitate him?" ("Hauie with you to Saffron-Walden," &c., 1596. Sig. V. 3. See Dyce's ed. of Greene, p. 37.) "If any man bee of a dainty and curious eare," says the author of Martine Mar-Sixtus, 1592, undoubtedly alluding to Greene, "I shall desire him to repaire to those authours; euery man hath not a perle-mint, a fish-mint, nor a bird mint in his braine, all are not licensed to create new stones, new fowles, new serpents, to coyne new creatures" (Preface. See Dyce's ed. of Greene, p. 37).

For these reasons I do not think that the animal and insect metaphors necessarily indicate another writer than Shakspere or Marlowe at work in the Second and Third Parts of *Henry VI*.

'homekeeping': *Two Gentlemen*: cp. *Coriolanus*. "Mansionato, a homekeeper, a houslin, one that seldom goes abroad."—1598; Florio.

'house and home, eat out of': 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 81. "I set abroad all the vessels in my house, hoggesheads and pipes: I had all my men as busie as could bee to serue: and this is but one night. What thinke you shall become of you, whom they shall daily eate out of house and home [quem assiduè exedent]? So God be my helpe, as I take pitie and compassion of your substance."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 222, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'jack': sb. "Saultereau: n. A Locust, or Grasshopper; also, the Jack of a Virginall, &c."—1611; Cotgrave.

'jump': adv. *Hamlet*, I. i. 65. "Ita attemperatè venit hodie, He comes so iumpe, or in the very nicke to day: in season, at the very point."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 101, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'kecksie or kex': *Hen. V.*, V. ii. "But he hath a certaine couetous fellow to his father, miserly, and as dry as a kice: its our neighbour Menedemus."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 226, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'kibe': *Hamlet*. "Pernione, a kibe on the heele, or a chilblane on the hands."—1598; Florio.

TABLE OF SHAKSPERE'S AND MARLOWE'S SHARES IN
*HENRY VI., PARTS II. AND III.*¹

BY MISS JANE LEE.

[I WISH this scheme to be looked on as merely conjectural and tentative. With regard to the authorship of several passages I am quite ready, if need be, to yield my opinion to that of others more skilled and more experienced in deciding disputed questions of a like kind. This remark will hold even more strongly with regard to the *Contention*² and *True Tragedy*—see Table at p. 304.]

Henry VI. PART II.

Act I. sc. i. ll. 23-35.	New.	Shakspere.
,, ll. 76-235.	New or reformed. ³	Shakspere.
,, (<i>Contention</i> , pp. 3-8, Marlowe and Greene.)		
Act I. sc. ii. ll. 1-108.	New or reformed. But several lines are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> .	Shakspere.
,, (<i>Contention</i> , pp. 8-11, Greene.)		
Act I. sc. iii. ll. 1-127.	New or reformed. A few old lines are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> , pp. 11-15.	Shakspere.
,, ll. 128-140.	New.	Shakspere.
,, ll. 141-150.	Touched up.	Shakspere.
,, ll. 151-154.	New, and might be by any one.	? Shakspere.
,, ll. 155-177.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.

¹ In using this Table I must ask my readers to compare 2 and 3 *Henry VI* with the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* for themselves, and not to confide in the marking of Malone, which is by no means trustworthy. All lines taken unchanged from the old Plays—as far as it was possible—I have passed by.

² Any references to the *Contention* or *True Tragedy* will be to the old Shakespeare Society (1843) Reprints.

³ It may, perhaps, be that the total number of lines set down as “new” or “reformed” in this Table, will not agree with the total number which I have given at p. 266. But here I have not aimed at strict numerical accuracy. I attended rather to groups of lines than to single isolated lines.

Henry VI. Part II.

Act I. sc. iii. ll. 182-226.	New or reformed.	? Shakspere.
	There is nothing in any way characteristic about the changes made. Some lines are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> .	
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 11-17, Greene and Marlowe.)		
Act I. sc. iv. ll. 1-31.	New.	Shakspere.
" " ll. 41-66, 73-85.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 17-19, Greene.)	Thus in Act I. I ascribe all new or reformed lines to Shakspere.	
Act II. sc. i. ll. 1-113.	New or reformed. Some lines are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> , pp. 19-21. The additions and changes made are of little value.	? Shakspere.
" " ll. 153-205.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 19-25, Greene.)		
Act II. sc. ii. ll. 1-82.	New or reformed. Most of the lines here are virtually new. Some few are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> .	? Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 25-27, Marlowe and ? Greene.)		
Act II. sc. iii. ll. 1-58.	Reformed.	? Marlowe.
" " ll. 73-76.	Reformed.	Shakspere.
" " ll. 87-103.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 27-30, Greene.)		
Act II. sc. iv.	New or reformed. But some 17 or more lines are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> .	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 30-32, Greene.)		
Thus in Act II. we have :—		
Sc. i. Shakspere revising Greene.		
Sc. ii. Shakspere revising Marlowe and ? Greene.		
Sc. iii. Shakspere and ? Marlowe revising Greene.		
Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Greene.		

Henry VI. Part II.

Act III. sc. i. ll. 1-141.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
, " ll. 142-199.	New or reformed.	? Marlowe.
, " ll. 200-281.	New.	Shakspere.
, " ll. 282-330.	New or reformed.	? Marlowe.
, " ll. 331-356.	New.	Shakspere.
, " ll. 357-383.	New or reformed.	? Marlowe.
(Contention, pp. 33-39, Marlowe and Greene.)		
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 1-37.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
, " ll. 43-121. ¹	New or reformed.	Shakspere and Marlowe together.
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 122-187.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
, " ll. 230 - 235,	New.	Shakspere.
238, 239, 242, 246-269.		
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 282-308.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
, " ll. 312, 324,	New.	Shakspere.
330-332.		
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 339 - 366,	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
370-387, 396, 397.	Lines 375 and 378 are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> , p. 45.	
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 403-405.	New.	Shakspere.
(Contention, pp. 39-46, Marlowe and Greene.)		
Act III. sc. iii. ll. 1-33.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
(Contention, pp. 46, 47, Marlowe.)		
Thus in Act III. we have :—		
Sc. i. Shakspere and ? Marlowe revising Marlowe and Greene.		
Sc. ii. Shakspere and Marlowe revising Marlowe and Greene.		
Sc. iii. Shakspere revising Marlowe.		

¹ Both the structure and thought of this passage are like Marlowe's. Still, I have assigned it to *Shakspere and Marlowe*, because l. 63, "Look pale as a primrose with blood drinking sighs," is, I think, by *Shakspere*. Professor Dowden, speaking of this line, notes that *Shakspere* seems to have had a peculiar feeling about the primrose;—as if its colour were sad, or low-toned. Thus, in *The Winter's Tale*, "pale primroses, that die unmarried" (IV. iv. 122), and in *Cymbeline*, "The flower, that's like thy face, pale primrose" (IV. ii. 221).

Again, if, as I have seen it asserted, ll. 116—118,

"To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did,
When he to madding Dido would unfold
His fathers acts, commenced in burning Troy."

contain a real misstatement, and imply that the writer believed it was Ascanius, not Aeneas, who told the tale of "Troy divine," then Marlowe did not write these lines either, for Marlowe knew his Virgil from cover to cover.

Henry VI. Part II

Act IV. sc. i. ll. 1-147.	New or reformed. Some few lines are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> .	Marlowe.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 47-50, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. ii. ll. 1-200.	New or reformed. A great part of this scene, as well as of all the scenes relating to Jack Cade, is taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> .	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 50-54, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. iii. ll. 1-20.	New—for the most part.	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 54, 55, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. iv. ll. 1-18, 25-60.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 55, 56, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. v.	All the lines are old ones.	
(<i>Contention</i> , p. 56, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. vi. ll. 9, 10, 11.	New.	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 56, 57, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 7, 8, 14-18,	New or reformed. Several lines are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> .	Shakspere.
24-43.		
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 57-59, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. viii. ll. 1-72.	New. Among them a few reformed old lines.	Shakspere.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 60, 61, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. ix. ll. 1-49.	New (almost wholly).	? Shakspere. ¹
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 61, 62, Greene.)		
Act IV. sc. x. ll. 1-17.	New.	Shakspere.
," , ll. 18-90.	New or reformed. Several lines are taken unaltered from the <i>Contention</i> .	Marlowe.
(<i>Contention</i> , pp. 62-64, Greene.)		
Thus in Act IV. we have:—		
Sc. i. Marlowe revising Greene.		

¹ Act IV. sc. ix. Certainly such a scene as this is like Greene's work, and is little like Shakspere's. But the corresponding scene in the *Contention* (Reprints, p. 62) is Greene's, and it may be that unwittingly Shakspere here, and elsewhere, fell into the style of the writer whom he was revising.

Henry VI. Part II.

Sc. ii.	Shakspere revising Greene.	
Sc. iii.	Shakspere revising Greene.	
Sc. iv.	Shakspere revising Greene.	
Sc. v.	unrevised.	
Sc. vi.	Shakspere revising Greene.	
Sc. vii.	Shakspere revising Greene.	
Sc. viii.	Shakspere revising Greene.	
Sc. ix.	Shakspere revising Greene.	
Sc. x.	Shakspere and Marlowe revising Greene.	
Act V. sc. i. ll. 1-160. ¹	New or reformed.	Marlowe.
" " ll. 161-174.	New.	Shakspere.
" " ll. 175-195.	New or reformed.	Marlowe.
(Contention, pp. 64-68, Marlowe and ? Greene.)		
Act V. sc. ii. ll. 10-11.	New.	Marlowe.
" " ll. 19-30.	New.	? Marlowe.
" " ll. 31-65. ²	New.	Marlowe.
" " ll. 70-71.	Might be by any one.	? spurious.
" " ll. 72-90.	New.	Shakspere.
(Contention, pp. 68-71, Greene and Marlowe.)		
Act V. sc. iii. ll. 1-25.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
(Contention, pp. 71, 72, Marlowe.)		
Thus in Act V. we have :—		
Sc. i.	Marlowe and Shakspere revising Marlowe and ? Greene.	
Sc. ii.	Marlowe and Shakspere revising Greene and Marlowe.	
Sc. iii.	Shakspere revising Greene and Mar- lowe.	

¹ Act V. sc. i. ll. 99-101:—

“ That gold must round engirt these brows of mine ;
 Whose smile and frown like to Achilles’ spear,
 Is able with the change to kill or cure.”

Malone notices that the allusion contained in these lines is borrowed from Propertius:—

“ Mysus et Hæmonii juvenis qua cuspide vulnus
 Senserat, hac ipsa cuspide sensit opem.”—*Eleg. II. i. 63, 64.*

The allusion is one which Shakspere would scarcely be likely to have known, and heightens, I think, the probability that the passage in which it appears is by Marlowe.

² Act V. sc. ii. ll. 31-64. Of this passage Mr Swinburne says that “ it is rather out of the range of than beyond the scope of Marlowe’s genius.” I put it down to Marlowe, feeling at the same time that ll. 45-49 are very like Shakspere’s.

Henry VI. PART III.

Act I. sc. i. ll. 6, 17, 35-37, 75, 121-123, 174, 175, 183, 184, 189, 199, 200.	New.	Shakspere.
Act I. sc. i. ll. 216-273. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 117-125, Marlowe.)	Reformed or new.	Shakspere.
Act I. sc. ii. ll. 5-76. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 125-127, Marlowe.)	New or reformed. But a good many lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> .	Marlowe.
Act I. sc. iii. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 127, 128, Marlowe.)	Scarcely any changes are made in this scene.	
Act I. sc. iv. ll. 1-26. ,, , ll. 46,70,89,90.	New or reformed. One or two lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> , p. 129. New. All other lines in the scene are taken from the <i>True Tra- gedy</i> ; but some few have been revised.	Shakspere.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 128-133, Marlowe and ?Greene.)	Shakspere.
Thus in Act I. we have :—		
Sc. i. Shakspere revising Marlowe.		
Sc. ii. Marlowe revising himself.		
Sc. iii. unrevised.		
Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Marlowe and ?Greene.		
Act II. sc. i. ll. 1-18.	New or reformed. A few lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 133, 134.	? Shakspere.
,, , ll. 23, 24, 33, 37.	New.	? Shakspere.
Act II. sc. i. ll. 41-78.	New or reformed. Some lines are taken un- altered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 134, 135.	? Shakspere.
,, , ll. 81-86, 200- 204.	New.	Marlowe.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 133-139, Marlowe and perhaps Greene.)	

Henry VI. PART III.

Act II. sc. ii. ll. 6, 53, 56, 79, 83, 143, 146-148.	New. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 139-144, Greene, and Marlowe, and perhaps Peele.)	? Marlowe. ¹
Act II. sc. iii. ll. 7, 9-47.	New or reformed. A few lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 144-146.	Shakspere.
," " ll. 49-56.	New or Reformed. ² (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 144-146, Marlowe.)	Marlowe.
Act II. sc. iv. ll. 1-4, 12, 13.	New. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , p. 146, Greene.)	Marlowe.
Act II. sc. v. ll. 1-54.	New. Four lines of this passage are in the <i>True Tragedy</i> , p. 147.	Shakspere.
," " ll. 58-113.	New or reformed. Some lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 147, 148.	Shakspere.
Act II. sc. v. ll. 114-120.	New.	? Marlowe.
," " ll. 123-139.	New or reformed. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 147-149, Greene.)	Shakspere.
Act II. sc. vi. ll. 31-36, 47-50, 58, 100-102.	New. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 149-152, Marlowe and Greene.)	Marlowe.
Thus in Act II. we have :—		
Sc. i. Marlowe and ? Shakspere revising Marlowe and ? Greene.		
Sc. ii. ? Marlowe revising himself, and Greene, and perhaps Peele.		

¹ Act II. sc. ii. Where there are only a few isolated lines added it is very hard to discriminate between Shakspere's and Marlowe's manner. Here, and in some other passages, it is chiefly because I think the corresponding part of the *True Tragedy* is by Marlowe that I assign the few additions made to him also.

² Act II. sc. iii. ll. 52-53 :—

“ And if we thrive promise them such rewards
As Victors wear at the Olympian games.”

Fancy an English general in the midst of the horror of such a battle as Towton taking time to promise his men Olympian wreaths! I assign the passage to Marlowe. I cannot think that Shakspere would have written so irritating a line.

Henry VI. Part III.

Sc. iii.	Shakspeare and Marlowe revising Marlowe.	
Sc. iv.	Marlowe revising Greene.	
Sc. v.	Shakspere and ?Marlowe revising Greene.	
Sc. vi.	Marlowe revising himself and Greene.	
Act III. sc. i. ll. 1-54, 63-101.	New or reformed. Some lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> .	Shakspere.
(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 152-154, Greene.)		
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 9, 16, 20, 38-51, 58-68, 85, 86, 110.	New.	Shakspere.
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 128-190.	New or reformed (chiefly new). A few lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> .	Shakspere.
(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 154-158, Greene, and perhaps Marlowe at the end.)		
Act III. sc. iii. ll. 4-43, 47, 48, 67-77.	New.	? Marlowe.
Act III. sc. iii. ll. 110-120.	Reformed or new.	? Marlowe.
" " ll. 134-137, 141-150, 156-161.	New.	? Marlowe.
Act III. sc. iii. ll. 175-179, 191-201. ¹	Reformed or new.	? Marlowe.
Act III. sc. iii. ll. 208-218, 221, 226, 233-238.	New.	? Marlowe.
Act III. sc. iii. ll. 244-255.	New or reformed.	? Marlowe.
(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 158-163, Greene, and possibly Peele.)		
Thus in Act III. we have :—		
Sc. i.	Shakspere revising Greene.	
Sc. ii.	Shakspere revising Greene and ? Marlowe.	
Sc. iii.	? Marlowe revising Greene and perhaps Peele.	

¹ Act III. sc. iii. ll. 199-201 :—

" Warwick these words have turned my hate to love ;
 And I forgive and quite forget old faults,
 And joy that thou becomest King Henry's friend."

In describing Margaret's character Holinshed quaintly remarks that she was "furnished with the gifts of reason, policie, and wisdom; but yet sometime (according to her kind) when she had beene fullie bent on a matter, suddenlie like a weather cocke, mutable and turning."

Henry VI. Part III.

Act IV. sc. i. ll. 1-83, 119- 149.	New or reformed. Several lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 163-165, and the alterations made in others are very insignificant. Between ll. 83-119 there are no new lines, but there are many altered lines. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 163-167, Greene.)	Shakspere.
Act IV. sc. ii. ll. 19-30.	New.	Marlowe.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 167, 168, Marlowe.)	
Act IV. sc. iii. ll. 1-22.	New.	Shakspere.
„ „ ll. 40-61.	New or reformed. Some few lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> . (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 168, 169, Marlowe.)	Shakspere.
Act IV. sc. iv. ll. 1-35. ¹	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , p. 170, Greene.)	
Act IV. sc. v. ll. 1-27.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , p. 169, ? Greene.)	
Act IV. sc. vi. ll. 1-64.	New. Two or three lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> .	Shakspere.
„ ll. 73, 74, 77- 102.	New.	Shakspere.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , p. 173, Greene.)	
Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 1-16, 31- 34.	New. Between ll. 16-31, and again between ll. 34-55, there are changes; but not changes of much significance.	Shakspere.
Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 59-66, 70.	New.	Shakspere.
Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 78-88.	New or reformed. (<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 170-172, Greene.)	Shakspere.

¹ The order of the scenes in 3 *Henry VI* and the *True Tragedy* does not agree in this part.

Henry VI. PART III.

Act IV. sc. viii. ll. 6, 20, 21, 26-67.	New. There are, be- sides, in sc. viii. a few reformed lines.	Shakspere.
	<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 173, 174, I am doubtful who wrote this part.)	
Thus in Act IV. we have :—		
Sc. i. Shakspere revising Greene.		
Sc. ii. Marlowe revising himself.		
Sc. iii. Shakspere revising Marlowe.		
Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Greene.		
Sc. v. Shakspere revising ? Greene.		
Sc. vi. Shakspere revising Greene.		
Sc. vii. Shakspere revising Greene.		
Sc. viii. Shakspere revising —		
Act V. sc. i. ll. 12-16, 21, 22, 31-33, 39, 48-57, 62- 66, 69-71, 78, 79, 87-97. New.		Marlowe.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 174-177, Greene, and pro- bably Peele.)	
Act V. sc. ii. ll. 1-4, 8, 15-21. New.		Shakspere.
Act V. sc. ii. ll. 29-50.	Reformed or new. Several lines are taken unaltered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> .	Shakspere.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 177-179, Marlowe and Greene.)	
Act V. sc. iii. ll. 1-24.	Reformed or new. Some lines are taken un- altered from the <i>True Tragedy</i> .	Marlowe.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , p. 179, Greene.)	
Act V. sc. iv. ll. 1-49.	New. Amongst these there are, however, a few reformed lines.	Shakspere.
„ „ ll. 55-82.	Reformed or new.	Shakspere.
„ „ ll. 55-82.	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 179-181, Greene and ?Peele.)	
Act V. sc. v. ll. 7-16, 38- 40, 54, 55, 59-63.	New.	Shakspere.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 181-184, Marlowe.)	
Act V. sc. vi. ll. 5-12, 26, 29, 38, 39.	New. Besides the added lines there are several reformed lines in sc. vi.	Shakspere.
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 184-186, Marlowe.)	
Act V. sc. vii.	No new lines.	
	(<i>True Tragedy</i> , pp. 186-188, Greene.)	

Henry VI. Part III.

Thus in Act V. we have:—

- Sc. i. Marlowe revising Greene and ? Peele.
 - Sc. ii. Shakspere revising Marlowe and Greene.
 - Sc. iii. Marlowe revising Greene.
 - Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Greene and ? Peele.
 - Sc. v. Shakspere revising Marlowe.
 - Sc. vi. Shakspere revising Marlowe.
 - Sc. vii. unrevised.
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[After this Table was in type Mr Harold Littledale pointed out to me that in York's speech in *2 Henry VI*, I. i. 214—235, a passage which I have assigned to Shakspere, the story of Althaea and the fatal brand is referred to correctly; while in *2 Henry IV*, II. ii. 93—29, an incorrect account of the legend is given. Are we, then, to conclude that Shakspere could not have written the passage containing the true version, since we know he did write the passage which contains the false version? Not necessarily, I think. For the true version, or at least the simile introduced into it,—

“Methinks the realms of England, France, and Ireland
Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood
As did the fatal brand Althaea burned
Unto the prince's heart of Calydon”—

may have been suggested by Shakspere's fellow-worker, Marlowe.

Again, there is nothing improbable in supposing that a man like Shakspere, who was not a Greek scholar, might have known and related the story correctly when he wrote the earlier play *2 Henry VI*, and yet might have forgotten it, and given an incorrect version of it, when he wrote *2 Henry IV* some six or seven years later.]

TABLE OF MARLOWE'S AND GREENE'S SHARES IN
THE *CONTENTION AND TRUE TRAGEDY*.

The Contention.

- Sc. i. Reprints, pp. 3-8, beginning "As by your high imperiall Maiesties command¹," Marlowe and Greene together.
- Sc. ii. Reprints, pp. 8-11, from "Why droopes my Lord like ouer ripened corne," Greene.
- Sc. iii. Reprints, pp. 11-17: "Come sirs let vs linger here abouts a while," Greene, ll. 1-40 ; then Marlowe writes to l. 111 ; then Greene to end of scene.
- Sc. iv. Reprints, pp. 17-19 : "Here Sir John, take this scrole of paper here," Greene.
- Sc. v. Reprints, pp. 19-25 : "My Lord, how did your grace like this last flight," Greene.
- Sc. vi. Reprints, pp. 25-27 : "My Lords our simple supper ended, thus," Marlowe ; but Warwick's part is perhaps written by Greene.
- Sc. vii. Reprints, pp. 27-30 : "Stand foorth Dame Elnor Cobham Duchess of Gloster," Greene.
- Sc. viii. Reprints, pp. 30-32 : "Sirrha, whats a clocke," Greene.
- Sc. ix. Reprints, pp. 33-39 : "I wonder our vnkle Gloster staies so long," Marlowe to l. 169, "Now York bethink thy self and rowse thee vp," when Greene takes it up and writes on to the end of the scene. Also, Greene may have written, or aided in writing, Humphrey's part in the previous lines.
- Sc. x. Reprints, pp. 39-46 : "How now sirs, what haue you dispatcht him?" Marlowe ; though some of the wrens, ravens, basilisks, lambs, scorpions, partridges, puttocks, kites, lizards, serpents, screech-owls, were, I imagine, suggestions of Greene's.
- Sc. xi. Reprints, pp. 46, 47 : "Oh death, if thou wilt let me liue but one whole yeare," Marlowe.
- Sc. xii. Reprints, pp. 47-50 : "Bring forward these prisoners that scorn'd to yeeld," Greene.
- Sc. xiii. Reprints, pp. 50-54 : "Come away Nick, and put a long staffe in thy pike," Greene.
- Sc. xiv. Reprints, pp. 54, 55 : "Sir Dicke Butcher, thou hast fought to-day most valiantly," Greene.

¹ For the style and run of the lines in Henry's and Margaret's speeches to each other, cf. the passage beginning : "These gracious words most royal Carolus."—Faustus, IV. i.

- Sc. xv. Reprints, pp. 55, 56 : "Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother is slaine," ? Greene—certainly not Marlowe.
- Sc. xvi. Reprints, p. 56 : "How now, is Jack Cade slaine?" Greene.
- Sc. xvii. Reprints, pp. 56, 57 : "Now is Mortemer Lord of this Citie," Greene.
- Sc. xviii. Reprints, pp. 57-61 : "So, sirs now go some and pull down the Sauoy," Greene.
- Sc. xix. Reprints, pp. 61, 62 : "Lord Somerset, what newes here you of the Rebelle Cade," Greene.
- Sc. xx. Reprints, pp. 62-64 : "Good Lord how pleasant is this country life," Greene.
- Sc. xxi. Reprints, pp. 64-67 : "In Armes from Ireland comes Yorke amaine," ? Greene—certainly not Marlowe.
- Sc. xxii. Reprints, pp. 67, 68 : "Long liue my noble Lord, and soueraigne King," Marlowe.
- Sc. xxiii. Reprints, pp. 68-72 : "So Lie thou there, and breathe thy last," ll. 1-8, Greene; then Marlowe writes on to the end, except that Greene writes ll. 20-39.

The True Tragedy.

- Sc. i. Reprints, pp. 117-125, beginning "I wonder how the king escapt our hands," Marlowe.
- Sc. ii. Reprints, pp. 125-127, from "Brother, and cosin Montague, giue mee leaue to speake," Marlowe.
- Sc. iii. Reprints, pp. 127-133 : "Oh flie my Lord, lets leaue the Castell," Marlowe; but Greene had some share in this scene, as the doves, ravens, woodcocks, curs, and conies shew. The latter part of Margaret's long speech may have been written by Greene, or by Peele: the second writer begins at l. 130, "I, now lookes he like a king," and writes on to l. 143, "And, whilst we breath, take time to doe him dead."
- Sc. iv. Reprints, pp. 133-139 : "After this dangerous fight and haplesse warre," Marlowe; but the Messenger's speech is like Greene's work.
- Sc. v. Reprints, pp. 139-144 : "Welcomme my Lord to this braue town of York," Greene and Marlowe; but Clifford's speech, beginning l. 8, "My gratiouse Lord, this too much lenitie," recalls many a passage by Peele.
- Sc. vi. Reprints, pp. 144-146 : "Sore spent with toile as runners with the race," Marlowe.
- Sc. vii. Reprints, p. 146 : "A Clifford a Clifford," Greene.
- Sc. viii. Reprints, pp. 147-152 : "Oh gratiouse God of heauen looke downe on vs," ll. 1-64, ? Greene¹; Clifford's speech, beginning at

¹ Sc. viii. ll. 41-49 with the repetition of the same thought—the harping on one string, cf. Greene's *James*, iv. p. 202, col. I., Dyce's Ed.

- l. 65 and on to l. 142, is Marlowe's; while from l. 143 to the end of the scene is like Greene's—especially from l. 151.
- Sc. ix. Reprints, pp. 152-154, from "Come, lets take our stands vpon this hill," Greene.
- Sc. x. Reprints, pp. 154-158: "Brothers of Clarence, and of Gloucester," Greene, down to Richard's soliloquy, which is perhaps by Marlowe.
- Sc. xi. Reprints, pp. 158-163: "Welcom Queene Margaret to the Court of France," Greene; but I doubt whether Warwick's part in this scene was written by Greene. It is certainly not by Marlowe.
- Sc. xii. Reprints, pp. 163-167: "Brothers of Clarence, and of Gloucester," Greene.
- Sc. xiii. Reprints, pp. 167-169: "Trust me my Lords all hitherto goes well," Marlowe.
- Sc. xiv. Reprints, p. 169: "Lord Hastings, and Sir William Stanly," ? Greene.
- Sc. xv. Reprints, p. 170: "Tel me good Maddam, why is your grace," Greene.
- Sc. xvi. Reprints, pp. 170-172: "Thus far from Belgia have we past the seas," Greene.
- Sc. xvii. Reprints, pp. 173, 174: "Thus from the prison to this princelie seat." The first half—to the entrance of Warwick—by Greene. About the second half I am doubtful.
- Sc. xviii. Reprints, p. 174: "Sease on the shame-fast Henry," Greene.
- Sc. xix. Reprints, pp. 174-177: "Where is the post that came from valiant Oxford?" probably by Greene and ? Peele; Edward's part being by Greene.
- Sc. xx. Reprints, pp. 177-179: "Ah, who is nie? Come to me friend or foe"; ll. 1-39 Marlowe; ll. 40 to end of scene Greene.
- Sc. xxi. Reprints, pp. 179-184: "Welcome to England, my louing friends of Frāce." First 11 lines like Peele's; Prince Edward's speech by Greene; but from l. 50 to end of scene is Marlowe's without a doubt.
- Sc. xxii. Reprints, pp. 184-186: "Good day my Lord. What at your booke so hard," Marlowe.
- Sc. xxiii. Reprints, pp. 186-188: "Once more we sit in England's royll throne," Greene.

POSTSCRIPT TO PAPER ON *HENRY VI,*
PARTS II. AND III.

I. THE characters of Duke Humphrey and King Henry.

In "Shakspeare's Dramatic Art" by Dr Ulrici (which I first read after my Paper was written) there are some interesting pages on the extent and limitation of Marlowe's genius, considered with regard to the question of the authorship of *2 and 3 Henry VI*. "In not a single one of Marlowe's dramas," writes Dr Ulrici, "do we find a character guided by truly moral motives; nowhere is there any question about the struggle between the moral nature of man with his sensual impulses and selfish desires. In short, the moral element in the mental life of man appears wholly excluded from Marlowe's works."¹ With the scenes fresh in my memory where Marlowe describes the struggle made by Faustus for self-control and self-mastery, or the scenes in which he describes the striving of the Queen of Carthage for moderation and modesty, I cannot but protest against the judgment here pronounced. It is true that in these scenes Marlowe shows us the man and woman overcome by selfish desire and sensual impulse. But all the same the struggle has been recorded, so that the moral element in the mental life of man is shown not to be wholly excluded from Marlowe's works. Carrying out the same idea, Dr Ulrici argues that Marlowe could not have created such characters as the good conscientious Duke of Gloster, or the pious King of the *Henry VI* Plays, or could not even have sketched them in the manner in which they are presented to us in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. Whether or not Marlowe could have developed the characters of Gloster and Henry as they appear in *2 and 3 Henry VI* I am not concerned to prove. The work was done by Shakspere, not by Marlowe. But I contend that he could and did create characters far more memorable than Gloster and Henry as they appear in

¹ Vol. ii., Book VII., chap. i. p. 316. Bohn's ed., 1876.

the earlier Plays. Marlowe had, I know, more power to delineate evil than good. But Faustus—the wisest man of his age—wrestling with his intellect, and confessing in bitterness of spirit the shipwreck of his faith, is an infinitely grander type of human character than a merely conscientious, painstaking, prudent man like Duke Humphrey.¹ For, in the *Contention* Duke Humphrey exhibits no higher qualities of mind than conscientiousness and sagacity. His struggle for an exacter self-command and self-knowledge, which Shakspere puts forward in *2 Henry VI*, finds no place in the older Play.

I dissent again from Dr Ulrici's opinion that Marlowe could not have created such a character as the “pious, dutiful, gentle, and amiable Henry VI.” The character of Henry seems to me in an especial degree a Marlowesque conception,—with its apathetic long-suffering through life, and its solitary outburst of wrathful indignation at the moment of death. How any person who has considered Marlowe's *Mycetes* and his *Edward II* can fail to find in these a strong likeness to Henry is to me more than strange. Dr Ulrici thinks Marlowe would have mercilessly branded Henry “as a weak, effeminate, unkingly man.” Well, this is precisely what Marlowe has done. Marlowe represents Henry as a man incapable of forming a resolve, or of adhering to a purpose; refusing to accept the task imposed upon him; fearing to tread the path marked out for him; indifferent to the welfare of his country; stealing away from the reproaches of those whom he has injured; ready to sacrifice his dearest interests for the sake of temporary peace. Henry's piety weighs but lightly when set against his abject weakness. Surely patience is mere apathy in such a character, and goodness does not deserve the name. A man is not worth a straw who is not roused to anger at the sense of wrong, and to action at the sight of injustice.

Dr Ulrici contrasts the death of Henry VI. with the death of Marlowe's *Edward II*. Henry dies bravely while prophesying the punish-

¹ When Goethe was spoken to about Marlowe's *Faustus* he “burst out with an exclamation of praise: How greatly it is all planned! He had thought of translating it. He was fully aware that Shakspere did not stand alone.”—Henry Crabb Robinson's Diary, ii. 434, under date 1829, as quoted by Col. Cunningham in his Introduction to Marlowe's Works, p. xiv.

ment of his murderer. Edward dies entreating for mercy. But the comparison is not a reasonable one. At the time of his death the one was physically strong, and in full possession of his mental faculties : the other was suffering from extreme exhaustion of body and of mind. Edward had been kept for days in a loathsome dungeon ; he had been starved with hunger ; he had not been permitted to sleep for ten nights past ;—the shadow of death already lay upon him when Matrevis and Gurney came to take his life. There is deep pathos in this scene ; but for Edward to have borne himself bravely and with courage would have been unfitting and unnatural.

Besides differing from Dr Ulrici with regard to the creation of the characters of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, I differ from him likewise as to the authorship of particular passages. The parting of Suffolk and Margaret, the death of the Cardinal of Winchester, the soliloquies of King Henry, and the memorable lines spoken by Richard which end with the words :

“I am myself alone,”

are passages which I feel strongly were conceived and written by Marlowe. Dr Ulrici thinks that they are as unlike anything written by Marlowe as are the scenes relating to Jack Cade.¹ When two people differ thus fundamentally,—where one says “this is so,” and another “this can’t be so,”—and where there is no present possibility of deciding whether one or the other is right,—there would, I think, be neither use nor profit in further discussing a question which depends almost wholly on feeling. An irreconcilable difference of opinion like this recalls to my mind a scene in 2 *Henry VI.*:

Cade. “Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March,
Married the duke of Clarence daughter ; did he not ?

Stafford. Ay, sir.

Cade. By her he had two children at one birth.

W. Stafford. That’s false.

Cade. Ay, there’s the question ; but I say, ‘tis true.”

2 *Henry VI.*, IV. ii. 144-9.

II. The order of Shakspere’s historical Plays.

I ought not, I think, to leave the subject of the *Henry VI* plays

¹ “Shakspeare’s Dramatic Art,” vol. ii. Book VII. chap. i. p. 327.

without saying something as to the date of *Richard III*, and something concerning the chronological order in which Shakspere's historical plays were probably written

Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, and *Richard III*, form a distinct and separate group among Shakspere's dramatic writings. The three are indissolubly linked together: they relate to the same period of English history; they set forth in due and connected order the same sequence of events; they describe the lives of the same men and women. All three resemble one another closely in metre, in diction, and in thought. In style and versification, too, *Richard III* as well as *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, bear a singular resemblance to the writings of Marlowe. And, further, there is an excess of inhumanity and blood-thirstiness in these plays which is more in accordance with Marlowe's manner and wont than with Shakspere's. It is from this last cause—as much as from their versification and style—that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, and *Richard III* have been called the Marlowesque group of Shakspere's plays. *Richard III*, no less than 2 and 3 *Henry*, is full of the influence of Marlowe's soul and spirit; and, though I think it more than improbable that Marlowe actually wrote any part of this play, yet in many passages we seem to catch echoes of his voice. And thus the three plays appearing to be unlike all other plays of Shakspere, and to be at the same time inseparably bound one to another,—if *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, were, as I believe, written as early as 1590-91, I cannot think that *Richard III* was written later than 1592-93.¹ For every reason this date appears to be a probable and a reasonable one. Shakspere's historical plays—as well from their own nature as from the incidents represented—naturally divide themselves into two groups. There is first the series relating to the Wars of the Roses, and the ruin of the House of Lancaster, beginning with *Henry VI*, Part 1 (which, as we have it, is a play touched up, I do not doubt, by Shakspere's hand), and ending with *Richard III*. The plays of this first series were written, in all probability, between the years 1590 and 1593. And there is, secondly, the series relating the

¹ The date assigned by Mr Furnivall to *Richard III* in his Trial Table of the Order of Shakspere's Plays is 1594; Mr Grant White, I believe, dates it 1593-4; Dr Ulrici assigns the date 1593 to the Play; and Mr Spedding speaks of *Richard III* as one of Shakspere's earliest works.

rise to power and the full prosperity of Henry Bolingbroke and his son, beginning with *Richard II*, and ending with *Henry V*. The plays of this series were written between the years 1593 and 1599.

I cannot doubt that *King John* was posterior in date to the first group of Histories. The versification and general style belong to a later period in the development of Shakspere's art. In breadth of thought and comprehension of the many-sidedness of human nature, there is a great advance made upon the play of *Richard III*. Professor Dowden says that : "There is little in the play of *King John* which strengthens or gladdens the heart." Still, in this play, Shakspere takes a more human view of life than in the awful trilogy which tells the history of the Wars of the Roses. The tragic element has here more of pathos and less of horror. Shakspere has broken loose from alien influences, and is "himself alone."

To the question whether *King John* preceded the second group of Histories,—if we might settle the succession of Shakspere's plays according to our own feeling and liking,—we should all, I think, answer "yes," and place the writing of the play earlier in point of time than *Richard II*. Were there no reason to the contrary, it would seem natural to infer that once Shakspere had begun the second series of his Histories, he did not interrupt the even course of their production in order to write of a reign which belonged to a much earlier time, and which bore no resemblance or relation to the period of English History that was now absorbing his thought and interest. And yet it may well have been, that as Shakspere not seldom during the same year wrote tragedy and comedy, or wrote of subjects which had nothing in common one with another, so in the case of *King John* he may have left the period of English History which described the rise to power of Henry IV, and, for some motive unknown to us, have written a play which had no connection with the second series of his Histories. Thus *King John* may have followed, not preceded, *Richard II*. Scholars disagree about the date of the play. Mr Furnivall, in his Trial Table on the Order of Shakspere's plays, assigns to *Richard II* the date 1593-4, and to *King John* the date 1595. On the other hand, Schlegel and Ulrici both believe in the earlier date of *King John*,

the latter calling it "the Prologue" to the second group of Shakspere's Histories.

The following list of parallel animal expressions in the *Rape of Lucrece* from my *Introduction to the Leopold Shakspere*, p. xxxiv, may interest the student of the *Henry VI* plays.—F. J. F.

LUCRECE.

- Doves, 58
- Owls' and wolves' death-boding cries, 165
- Silly lambs, 167
Night-wandering weasels, 307
(Strong pirates, 335)
- Dove and night-owl, 360
- Lurking serpent, 362
- Grim lion fawning on his prey, 421
- New-kill'd bird trembling, 457
- Honey guarded with a sting, 493
- Falcon towering in the skies, 506
- Coucheth the fowl below . . . crooked beak,
507-8; as fowl falcon's bells, 511
- Cockatrice dead-killing eye, 540
- White hind under the gripe's sharp claws, 543
- Foul night-waking cat, 554
His vulture folly, 556
- Wolf and poor lamb, 677
- Full-fed hound or gorged hawk, 694
- A jade, 707
- Thievish dog, 736
Wearied lamb, 737
- Honey lost ; drone-like bee, 836
- Bee-hive, and wasp suck't the honey, 840
Hateful cuckoos hatch in sparrows' nests, 849
- Toads' venom, 850
- Adder hisses where sweet birds sing, 871
Wolf and lamb, 878
- Sin's pack-horse, 928
Tiger, unicorn, and lion, 956
- Crow and its coal-black wings, 1009
Snow-white swan, 1010

2 and 3 *HENRY VI.*

- o.* Doves, 3 *Henry VI*, II. ii. 18 (? not Shakspere)
- o.* Boding screech-owls, 2 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 327; *o.* that fatal screech-owl, 3 *Henry VI*, II. vi. 56
- n.* Sucking lamb, 2 *Henry VI*, III. i. 71
- a.* (The strong Illyrian Pirate, 2 *Henry VI*, IV. i. 108)
- n.* Harmless dove, 2 *Henry VI*, III. i. 71; *o.* night-owl, 3 *Henry VI*, II. i. 180
- o.* The lurking serpent's mortal sting, 3 *Henry VI*, II. ii. 15
- n.* When the lion fawns upon the lamb, 3 *Henry VI*, IV. viii. 49
- o.* Pent-up lion o'er the wretch that trembles under his devouring paws, 3 *Henry VI*, I. iii. 12
- o.* Some say the bee stings, 2 *Henry VI*, IV. ii. 89
- a.* Your falcon flew above the rest, 2 *Henry VI*, II. i. 5, 10
- a.* So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons, 3 *Henry VI*, I. iv. 41
- n.* Murdering basiliks (same as cockatrices), 2 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 324
- o.* cp. The partridge in the puttock's nest, 2 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 191
- (Whose vulture thought, *Venus*, 551)
- n.* Lamb . . . ravenous wolf, 2 *Henry VI*, III. i. 77-8
- n.* Lambs pursued by hunger-starved wolves, 3 *Henry VI*, I. iv. 5
- o.* Hawks do tower so well, 2 *Henry VI*, II. i. 10
- n.* The jades that drag the night, 2 *Henry VI*, IV. i. 3 (? Marlowe)
- o.* To beat a dog, 2 *Henry VI*, III. i. 171
- o.* An innocent lamb, 2 *Henry VI*, IV. ii. 87; *o.* poor harmless lambs, 3 *Henry VI*, II. v. 75
- n.* Drones rob bee-hives, 2 *Henry VI*, IV. i. 109 (? not Shakspere)
- o.* Hive of bees, 2 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 125
[*I Henry IV*, III. ii. 75; *Lear*, I. iv. 235; *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. vi. 28]
- o.* Venom toads, 3 *Henry VI*, II. ii. 138 (? not Shakspere)
- n.* Adder, 2 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 76
- n.* Trembling lamb environed with wolves, 3 *Henry VI*, I. i. 242
- o.* Tiger's heart, *o.* tigers of Hyrcania, 3 *Henry VI*, I. iv. 137-155; *o.* lion, 3 *Henry VI*, II. ii. 11
- o.* The night-crow cried, 3 *Henry VI*, V. vi. 45

LUCRECE.

- Gnats, 1014
 Eagles, 1015
 Slaughterhouse and tool, 1089
- Little birds' morning joys, 1107, 1121
 Lamenting Philomel, 1079; and nightingale
 and thorn, 1135
 Men proving beasts, 1143
- Poor frightened deer, 1149
- Little worms, 1243
- Pale swan in watery nest, 1611
- Blood, and watery rigol, 1747
- Old bees die, young possess their hive, 1769

2 and 3 HENRY VI.

- o. Gnats, 3 *Henry VI*, II. vi. 9
 n. Empty eagle, 2 *Henry VI*, III. i. 248
 n. The bloody slaughterhouse, 2 *Henry VI*,
 III. i. 212; o. butcher and his axe, 2
 Henry VI, III. ii. 189
- [The nightingale . . . lean'd her breast up
 till a thorn, *Passionate Pilgrim*, xxi. 8-10]
- o. Margaret turn'd worse than tigers, 3 *Henry VI*, I. iv. 154
- o. The deer . . . n. will scare the herd . . . o.
 here's a deer, 3 *Henry VI*, III. i. 2-22
- o. The smallest worm will turn, 3 *Henry VI*,
 II. ii. 17 (? not Shakspere)
- n. A swan . . . swim against the tide, 3 *Henry VI*, I. iv. 19-20
- n. This cold congealed blood, 3 *Henry VI*, V.
 ii. 37
- o. Bees that want their leader, 2 *Henry VI*,
 III. ii. 125; and see Clifford's argument
 in 3 *Henry VI*, II. ii. 21-42

law: ‘the Law allows it’: *Merchant of Venice*, A.D. 1596. “let them bloud and spare not; the Lawe allowes thee to do it, it will beare no action: and thou beeing a Barber Surgeon, art priuiledgd to dresse flesh in Lent, or anie thing.”—1596; T. Nash, *Hauue with you to Saffron Walden*, sign. B. bk.

‘lone woman’: 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 35. “Moreouer, Glycerie is a lone woman [haec sola est mulier]; he will quickly picke a quarrell against her, and so turne her packing out of the towne.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 38, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘lumpish’: *Two Gentlemen*, III. ii. 62. “All these things may well be said vnto me, that bee commonly spoken against a foole: as to be called a blockpate, a dulhead, an asse, a lumpish sot [caudex, stipes, asinus, plumbeus].”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 251, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘meacock’: *Shrew*, II. i. “Coquefredouille: m. A meacocke, milkesop, sneaksbie, worthlesse fellow.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘mechanical’: *Mids. N. Dream*, III. ii. “Patarino, a base mechanical fellow, a porter or daie labourer.”—1598; Florio.

‘moth’: (?=mote) *L. L. Lost*. “Festucco, a little sticke, a fease, strawe, a tooth-picke, a moth, a little beame.”—1598; Florio.

‘napping, take napping’: *Shrew*, IV. ii. 46. ‘Oscitantes opprimimur. We are taken napping.’—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 17, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598). See too *Fool’s Paradise*, above.

‘nick (of time)': *Othello*. “Ita attemperatè venit hodie. He comes so iumpe, or in the very nicke to-day: in season, at the very point.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 101, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

XI. THE POLITICAL ELEMENT IN MASSINGER.

BY PROFESSOR S. R. GARDINER.

(Read at the 26th Meeting of the Society, Friday, June 9, 1876.)¹

AMONGST the Caroline dramatists, Massinger takes a high place. If it cannot be said of his works, that

“Every word is thought
And every thought is pure,”

his coarseness is merely adventitious. The main intention of his work is moral. He never descends to paint immoral intention as virtuous because it does not succeed in converting itself into vicious act.

It will probably be a surprise even to those who are far better acquainted with the history of literature than I can pretend to be, that in many of Massinger's plays we have a treatment of the politics of the day so plain and transparent, that any one who possesses only a slight acquaintance with the history of the reigns of the first two Stuarts can read it at a glance. It is quite unintelligible to me that, with the exception of a few cursory words in Mr Ward's ‘History of Dramatic Literature,’ no previous² inquirer should have stumbled on a fact so obvious.

¹ First printed in the *Contemporary Review* for August 1876, p. 495—507.

² The following extracts, which have been kindly supplied by Mr Daniel, show that I overstated this. Except, perhaps, the extract relating to Buckingham, however, they do not materially touch my assertion. I am not dealing with political allusions to men like Coke, Michell, or Mompesson, but with direct interference with current politics with a distinct political object. The passages, however, deserve notice, as showing that others have suspected that there was more in Massinger than met the eye.

“If Massinger is to be suspected of political allusions, this Play [*The*

In speaking of the political element in Massinger, I mean something very different from those chance allusions and coincidences

Bondman] betrays him. The character of Gisco the admiral does not suit him, but agrees very well with the Duke of Buckingham :—

‘a raw young fellow,
One never trained in arms, but rather fashioned
To tilt with ladies’ lips, than crack a lance,’ etc.

The ‘green heads that determine of the state over their cups,’ etc., were now in possession of all power, and playing their wildest schemes. And towards the end of the reign of James (the date of this play), it might well be said, by the friends to the safety of their country :—

‘in this plenty
And fat of peace, your young men ne’er were train’d
In martial discipline ; and your ships unrigg’d,
Rot in the harbour.’

One of those friends of his country was Massinger : and it is hardly possible to point out, in any writer, ancient or modern, a finer strain of patriotism amidst the public danger, than that which animates the last scene of the first act.’—
DE IRELAND (p. 119, *Massinger*, ed. 1845).

“ ‘I am bound there
To swear for my master’s profit, as securely
As your intelligencer must for his prince,
That sends him forth an honorable spy,
To serve his purposes.’

Here is, probably, an allusion to the celebrated definition of an ambassador, by Sir Henry Wotton : ‘An honest man appointed to *lye* abroad for the good of his country,’—a definition, by the bye, which cost him dear; for Sir Henry, not satisfied with entertaining his countrymen, would needs translate his wit into Latin, for the amusement of foreigners. *Lye*, which was then the term for lodge or dwell, made a tolerable pun; but *mentendum*, into which it was turned, had neither humour nor ambiguity in it, and sorely scandalized the corps diplomatic.”—GIFFORD, *Massinger*, p. 121. *The Renegado*, I. i.

Compare in *The Maid of Honour*, II. i. p. 231,

“ swearing for the king,
Though false, it is no perjury.
Astutio. I know it.
They are not fit to be state agents, sir,
That, without scruple of their conscience, cannot
Be prodigal in such trifles.”

See also in *Maid of Honour*, I. i. p. 227-8, sundry passages on which Gifford remarks :—“Davies, I think, says, that here is an allusion to the affairs of this country under James. However that may be, it is, at least, certain that the author, in this animated description, was thinking of England only. He could scarcely be so ignorant of the natural history of Sicily as not to know how little of his description applied to that island; while every word of it was perfectly applicable to this.”

“Old Novall [in the *Fatal Dowry*] might be designed only as an enemy to the cause of Charalois, and as a contrast to Rochfort. But the reprobation of

which are so often taken as evidences that a great poet is taking a direct part in contemporary politics. I mean nothing less than that Massinger treated of the events of the day under a disguise hardly less thin than that which shows off the figures in the caricatures of Aristophanes or the cartoons of *Punch*.

As might be expected, Massinger's standpoint is the standpoint of the Herberts. His connection with the younger of the two brothers, the Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who afterwards became Earl of Pembroke, is witnessed by himself. With William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, it has hitherto been held that he had no personal dealings. Whether this be so or not, I hope to show that he expressed himself in a way which would have been altogether satisfactory to Pembroke, though this may possibly be accounted for by a wish to please his brother Montgomery.

The first play in which anything political is to be found is 'The Bondman,' which, when printed, was dedicated to Montgomery. In the dedication Massinger says that he 'could never arrive at the happiness to be made known to his lordship,' but that his 'lordship's liberal suffrage taught others to allow' the play 'for current.' It would be a vain task to inquire what were the personal views of a man who had so little of the politician in him as Montgomery; and we must, therefore, ask what were the views of his brother.

him is so frequently indulged, and with such vehemence and accumulation of circumstances, as to raise a suspicion that a portrait was intended. His hard and insulting disposition, his savage abuse, and his readiness to 'cross every deserving soldier and scholar,' seem to allude to Sir Edward Coke, and to the base and unfeeling treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh."—DR IRELAND, p. 346, 2nd col.

New Way to Pay Old Debts. Gifford states that Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel were the prototypes of *Sir Giles Overreach* and *Marrall*. See a long note, Act II. sc. i. p. 355, where Gifford quotes passages from Wilson's *Life and Reign of James I.*, *sub anno 1621, fol. 155*, supplied to him by his "ingenious friend Mr Gilchrist." See also further note on this subject by Gilchrist, p. 376.

"The POLITICAL CHARACTER of Massinger is very creditable to him. His allusions to the public events of the times are not unfrequent," etc.—DR IRELAND, p. 526, 1st col.

See too the passage on the enemies of the commonwealth of England, quoted from *The Guardian*, II. iv., on p. xlvi of the Society's edition of *Harrison's Description of England*.

Pembroke has often been held to be the original begetter of Shakspere's sonnets. Whether this be so or not, I fancy that if anybody had spoken of him as the original begetter of 'Hamlet,' it would have been rather difficult to prove the negative. Clarendon's description of him carries us back to Ophelia's description of Hamlet;

"The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form ;"

whilst those who have watched his progress minutely know how the force of his will was not equal to the grasp of his intelligence, so that the man to whom Englishmen looked up as the most honourable and patriotic of Councillors came to deserve the brief contemptuous words of Bacon, who told Buckingham that Pembroke was "for his person not effectual, but some dependencies he hath which are drawn with him."

These words were spoken by Bacon on January 2, 1624, as advice to Buckingham to win over Pembroke before Parliament opened. Pembroke had just been in one of his temporary fits of resolution. Buckingham and the Prince had returned from Madrid, and wanted James to declare war with Spain as soon as possible. Pembroke had never been in favour of the Spanish alliance; but he distrusted Buckingham as a leader, and he thought that Buckingham was behaving shabbily in advocating the breach of engagements of which he had been himself the strongest advocate. In these weeks of Pembroke's opposition 'The Bondman' was written. It was licensed on December 3, 1623. There is more of allusion than of direct reference to passing events in this play; but the audience must surely have thought of the young Lord Admiral of England as they heard such lines as these (i. 1):—

<p>"<i>Leosthenes.</i> The Carthaginian fleet ? <i>Timagoras.</i> And 'tis our happiness ; a raw young fellow, One never train'd in arms, but rather fashion'd To tilt with ladies' lips than crack a lance ; Ravish a feather from a mistress' fan And wear it as a favour. A steel helmet, Made horrid with a glorious plume, will crack His woman's neck."</p>	<p>Who commands Gisco's their admiral,</p>
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A little further (i. 3), we have the expression of regret that England has no worthy commander :—

“ *Archidamus*. O shame ! that we, that are a populous nation, Engaged to liberal nature for all blessings An island can bring forth ; we, that have limbs And able bodies ; shipping, arms, and treasure, The sinews of the war, now we are call'd To stand upon our ground ; cannot produce One fit to be our general.”

The scene in which Timoleon sets before the men of Syracuse the necessity of sacrifice in war looks as if Massinger thought that others beside Buckingham were to blame. The following lines seem to include Middlesex as well as Buckingham ; and Pembroke, as we know, had as little sympathy with Middlesex as he had with Buckingham :—

“ *Timoleon*. Your senate house, which used not to admit A man, however popular, to stand At the helm of government, whose youth was not Made glorious with actions whose experience, Crown'd with grey hairs, gave warrant to his counsels Heard and received with reverence, is now filled With green heads, that determine of the state Over their cups, or when their sated lusts Afford them leisure ; or supplied by those Who rising from base arts and sordid thrift, Are eminent for their wealth, not for their wisdom ; Which is the reason that to hold a place In council, which was once esteem'd an honour, And a reward for virtue, hath quite lost Lustre and reputation, and is made A mercenary purchase.”

If Massinger has an eye to Buckingham and Middlesex, he has an eye, too, to the future House of Commons. I am unable to follow Mr Spedding in all that he has said against the Commons of 1624, but I am bound to acknowledge that he has Massinger's forebodings on his side. “ Yet,” Timoleon proceeds—

“ In this plenty
And fat of peace, your young men ne'er were train'd
In martial discipline ; and your ships unrigg'd
Rot in the harbour : no defence prepared,
But thought unuseful ; as if that the Gods,
Indulgent to your sloth, had granted you

A perpetuity of pride and pleasure,
No change fear'd or expected.

* * * * * *

Old fester'd sores

Must be lanced to the quick and cauterized,
Which borne with patience, after I'll apply
Soft unguents. For the maintenance of the war
It is decreed all moneys in the hand
Of private men, shall instantly be brought
To the public treasury."

Murmurs are heard, and are thus checked by Timoleon :—

“ O blind men !
If you refuse the first means that is offer'd
To give you health, no hope's left to recover
Your desperate sickness. Do you prize your muck
Above your liberties ; and rather choose
To be made bondmen than to part with that
To which already we are slaves ? ”

The next play of which I shall speak is very different in its tone. ‘The Great Duke of Florence’ was acted on July 5, 1627. The Herberts had by this time been reconciled to Buckingham, who had now started on that expedition to the Isle of Rhé, from which so much was expected. Strange as it may seem, it is impossible to read the play without thinking of James, and Charles, and Buckingham. Sanazarro, the favourite of Duke Cosimo, is deputed to have an eye to the love affairs of the duke's nephew, and joins the nephew in hoodwinking the old man. It may, perhaps, be overstraining a point to refer to the commencement of the declaration against Raleigh, when Cosimo says (i. 2)—

“ Though
We stand not bound to yield account to any
Why we do this or that, the full consent
Of our subjects being included in our will ; ”

or to think of Charles, in the commendation of Giovanni (iii. 1)—

“ *Cosimo.* You are, nephew,
As I hear, an excellent horseman ; ”

or again—

“ How do you like
My nephew's horsemanship ? ”

But James and Buckingham can hardly have been out of the thoughts of the spectators when Cosimo says (v. 2)—

“The honours we have hourly heap'd upon him,
The titles, the rewards, to the envy of
The old nobility, as the common people,
We now forbear to touch on.”

Still, however, as it could hardly fail to be, the allusion is less direct than in ‘*The Bondman*.’ The way in which stress is laid upon the military qualities of the favourite may possibly be meant to call attention to the commander of an expedition which had not yet failed, but it may also be that Massinger was laughing in his sleeve at the man whom he thought it expedient to praise.

I now come to the group of three plays to which I wish especially to draw attention. ‘*Believe as you List*’ was offered for license on January 11, 1631; ‘*The Emperor of the East*’ was licensed March 11 of the same year; and ‘*The Maid of Honour*’ was printed in 1632, and probably written in the preceding year. The group therefore covers a space of twelve or fifteen months.

The circumstances which attended the refusal of a license to ‘*Believe as you List*’ at once arrest attention. In his prologue Massinger asks for pardon if

“What's Roman here,
Grecian, or Asiatic, draw too near
A late and sad example;”

and it has hitherto been held that this is sufficiently explained by the fact that Sir Henry Herbert refused to license a play of which the name is not given, “because it did contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian, King of Portugal, by Philip II., and there being a peace sworn 'twixt the Kings of England and Spain.” I have no doubt that Colonel Cunningham was quite right in pointing out the coincidences between the Antiochus of the play and King Sebastian. But he failed to notice that there was much in the proceedings of Antiochus which cannot by any possibility be fitted into the story of Sebastian. Antiochus, like the Sebastian of the popular story, is supposed to die in battle, and then reappears to claim his crown. But in the case of Sebastian, the defeat comes from the

Moors, whilst his crown is taken by the King of Spain. In the case of Antiochus, the crown is taken by the victor who defeats him in battle. Sebastian again does not wander, as Antiochus does, from State to State, asking aid for the recovery of his dignity and his lands. If we want to find 'a late but sad example' who will suit this part of Antiochus' story, we must look, not to Sebastian of Portugal, but to Frederick, Elector Palatine and titular King of Bohemia.

Even in the first act, where the Sebastian side is shown with tolerable consistency, we have words thrown in which must have reminded hearers of that generation of Frederick. When Antiochus laments (i. 1) how—

“ All those innocent spirits
Borrowing again their bodies, gashed with wounds,
(Which strew'd Achaia's bloody plains, and made
Rivulets of gore), appear to me, exacting
A strict account of my ambitious folly,
For the exposing of twelve thousand souls,
Who fell that fatal day to certain ruin ;
Neither the counsel of the Persian king
Prevailing with me ; nor the grave advice
Of my wise enemy, Marcus Scaurus, hindering
My desperate enterprise ; ”

we can hardly avoid thinking of the defeat in Bohemia, which ended an enterprise begun in spite of warnings from friendly James of England and hostile Maximilian of Bavaria.

In the second act Antiochus applies to Carthage for aid, just as Frederick applied to the Dutch Republic, and Carthage finally answers (ii. 2) just as the Dutch answered Frederick—

“ *Amilcar.* We wish we could
Receive you as a king, since your relation
Hath wrought so much upon us that we do
Incline to that belief. But since we cannot
As such protect you, but with certain danger,
Until you are by other potent nations
Proclaimed for such, our fitting caution
Cannot be censured, though we do entreat
You would elsewhere seek justice.

“ *Antiochus.* Where ? when 'tis
Frighted from you by power.

Amilcar. And yet take comfort.
 Not all the threats of Rome shall force us to
 Deliver you."¹

If this had been all, it might be said that the resemblance was accidental, and there are of course many points in which it does not by any means run upon all fours. But the third act is, I think, decisive.

Let us, before proceeding further, represent to ourselves the situation of the English Court in January, 1631.

It had only been with the greatest reluctance that, after a prolonged negotiation, Charles had just consented to make peace with Spain, without obtaining from Philip IV. a direct promise that he would force the Emperor to surrender the Palatinate. But he had got a promise that Spain would do all in her power to recover the Palatinate by any means short of force. In accepting this promise Charles had put himself under the guidance of the Lord Treasurer Weston, who was always, in the long run, able to curb his master's occasional longing for more energetic action, by telling him that without a Parliament he could not maintain a war, and that a Parliament would only resume the attitude of the Parliament of 1629.

On the other side there was a considerable party at Court, of which Pembroke and his brother formed a part, who disliked Weston and his policy and believed him to be merely actuated by a sordid love of gain. These men attempted to make use of the Queen, who cared nothing for politics, but who had quarrelled with Weston on account of his rude overbearing manners, and on account of a difference of opinion about the money needed for her rather extravagant housekeeping. Let us read part of scene 3 of Act iii., substituting King Charles for Prusias, Henrietta Maria for the Queen, Weston for Philoxenus, whose very name (a lover of strangers) is meant to suit him, and Coloma, the Spanish, for Flaminius the Roman Ambassador, only remembering that Frederick was not in person in England, as Antiochus was in Bithynia.

¹ When this paper was read before the Society, Mr Hales pointed out a piece of evidence which shows where Massinger's thoughts were. There is a discussion (iii. 2) where Antiochus shall take refuge.

"One urged to the Parthian,
 A second into Egypt, and a third
 To the *Batavian*."

The scene opens with a dialogue between Flaminius (Coloma) and Philoxenus (Weston). Flaminius begins—

“ What we have said the consuls will make good
And the glad senate ratify.”

Philoxenus replies as the leader of the so-called Spanish party in England might be expected to reply—

“ They have so
Obliged me for this favour that there is not
A service of that difficulty from which
I would decline. In this rest confident.
I am your own—and sure.”

After assuring Philoxenus of the rewards that awaited him, Flaminius proceeds to flatter him, delicately caricaturing those points in Weston which were most open to caricature.

“ Since a wise forecast in the managing
Worldly affairs is the true wisdom—rashness
The schoolmistress of idiots. You well know
Charity begins at home, and that we are
Nearest unto ourselves. Fools build upon
Imaginary hopes, but wise men ever
On real certainties.”

All Weston's materialism, his utter contempt for the ideal, are there. Then, after much else in the same strain, we have his relations with the King, as the Opposition understood them, presented in such a way as to stir up the indignation of Charles.

“ But to the point. With speed get me access
To the king your pupil. And 'tis well for him
That he hath such a tutor. Rich Bithynia
Was never so indebted to a patriot,
And vigilant watchman, for her peace and safety
As to yourself.”

This then, in the eyes of Pembroke and his party, was Charles's true position. He was Weston's pupil, and Weston was in the pay of Spain. Philoxenus accepts the imputation with becoming modesty—

“ Without boast I may whisper
I have done something in that way.”

Flaminius goes on flattering him to the top of his bent, and laughs at him as soon as he is gone. Philoxenus then returns, accompanied

by the King. In Prusias we have Charles's talk about subordinating his alliance with Spain to the demands of honour, which call upon him to maintain his brother-in-law's cause, just as it is familiar to us now. "What," says Prusias, when he hears of the arrival of the Roman—

" What can he
Propound which I must fear to hear ? I would
Continue in fair terms with that warlike nation,
Ever provided I wrong not myself.
In the least point of honour."

This is Charles all over. Then comes Flaminius' message, putting the advantages of peace in that low material form which was so familiar to Charles's courtiers, and which obtained a literary expression in Carew's lines on the death of Gustavus Adolphus—

" *Flaminius.* Know then, Rome,
In her pious care that you may still increase
The happiness you live on ; and your subjects,
Under the shadow of their own vines, eat
The fruit they yield them—their soft musical feasts
Continuing, as they do yet, unaffrighted
With the harsh noise of war—entreats as low
As her known power and majesty can descend,
You would retain, with due equality,
A willingness to preserve what she hath conquered
From change and innovation."

Prusias accepts all this. But he is stung to the quick when the demand comes to surrender Antiochus—

" *Prusias.* Shall I, for your ends,
Infringe my princely word ? or break the laws
Of hospitality ? defeat myself
Of the certain honour to restore a king
Unto his own ? and what you Romans have
Extorted and keep from him ? Far be 't from me !
I will not buy your amity at such loss,
So it be to all after-times remembered
I held it not sufficient to live
As one born only for myself, and I
Desire no other monument."

This, Massinger would seem to say, is the real Charles, generous and high-minded. It is only the low, coarse-minded minister who intervenes between his better self and action.

Flaminius turns to Philoxenus—

“Flaminius. Here’s a man,
The oracle of your kingdom, that can tell you
When there’s no probability it may be
Effectued, ‘tis mere madness to attempt it.

Philoxenus. A true position.
Flaminius. Your inclination
Is honourable, but your power deficient
To put your purpose into act.”

At this truth Prusias starts, precisely as Charles would have started—

“Prusias. My power?
Flaminius. Is not to be disputed, if weigh’d truly
With the petty kings, your neighbours; but when
balanced
With the globes and sceptres of my mistress, Rome,
Will but—I spare comparisons, but you build on
Your strength to justify the fact. *Alas,*
It is a feeble reed, and leaning on it
Will wound your hand much sooner than support you.
You keep in pay, ‘tis true, some peace-trained troops,
Which awe your neighbours; but consider, when
Our eagles shall display their sail-stretched wings,
Hovering o’er our legions, what defence
Can you expect from yours?”

Flaminius proceeds to urge the dangers of war, Philoxenus occasionally chiming in as chorus. Then, as if Massinger saw into the very heart of the man who was to deliver up Strafford to the block, we have the poor, helpless King exclaiming, when Flaminius proudly offers peace or war—

“Prusias. How can I
Dispense with my faith given?
Philoxenus. I’ll yield you reasons.
Prusias. Let it be peace, then. Oh! pray you call in
The wretched man. In the meantime I’ll consider
How to excuse myself.”

Antiochus comes in, and Prusias mumbles out some excuse about ‘necessity of State.’ The Queen pleads earnestly and passionately. But Prusias, like the Charles who in real life was terribly frightened lest he should be thought to be under his wife’s influence, cuts her short, and has her carried off, for which last proceeding, it must be acknowledged, history affords no warrant.

'The Emperor of the East' has no such scene in it as this. But for some remarks which have been made on it by others, it would hardly have been necessary to notice it here. There is a good deal in it about projectors and informers, and when anything is said about bad government of any kind, it is generally supposed to be intended as an attack upon Charles. There is in reality no part of history which requires more careful walking than the eleven years which passed without a Parliament. It is a period with respect to which writers suddenly become utterly regardless of chronology, and seem to imagine that anything which was done wrong at any time during the whole period may be referred to as having been done in any given year between 1629 and 1640. For the present I can only express my belief that there is nothing necessarily satirical in 'The Emperor of the East,' and that what is there written of a good king as compared with a bad one may very well have been intended to be taken as complimentary to Charles.

The next and last play to which I wish to draw attention is 'The Maid of Honour.' I suppose if any one were to assert, without bringing evidence to prove his assertions, that in the reign of Charles I. a dramatist had actually brought the King's father upon the stage, and had there displayed him in a way by no means to his advantage, he would be met by a smile of incredulity. Such, however, appears to me to have been the fact.

It is unnecessary to say much of the charges which English public opinion brought against James for his conduct in neglecting to defend the Palatinate. We all know how he clung to peace, when many people thought that peace was neither safe nor honourable, and how, when he finally made up his mind to offer assistance, he refused to declare war openly, and took credit to himself for allowing volunteers to go to fight for his son-in-law under Sir Horace Vere. Let us now see how far all this is mirrored in the character of Roberto, King of Sicily

The first scene of the first act introduces an ambassador from Ferdinand, Duke of Urbino, to Roberto as soon as he has taken his seat upon his throne. A few touches are enough to carry the audience from Ferdinand, Duke of Urbino, to Frederick, Elector

Palatine, whose acceptance of the Bohemian crown caused all the trouble.

Amb. Your Majesty
 Hath been long since familiar, I doubt not,
 With the desperate fortunes of my lord ; and pity
 Of the much that your confederate hath suffered,
 You being his last refuge, may persuade you
 Not alone to compassionate, but to lend
 Your royal aids to stay him to his fall
 To certain ruin. He, too late, is conscious
 That his ambition to encroach upon
 His neighbour's territories, with the danger of
 His liberty, nay, his life, hath brought in question
 His own inheritance."

Frederick's relations to the Palatinate and to Bohemia could not be more neatly put. The ambassador goes on to describe his master's plight in the city which he had thus seized, and asks for assistance for him just as Frederick asked aid in his difficulties in Bohemia. Roberto's answer is conceived in the very spirit of James.

Rob. Since injustice
 In your duke meets this correction, can you press us
 With any seeming argument of reason,
 In foolish pity to decline his dangers,
 To draw them on ourself ? Shall we not be
 Warn'd by his harms ? The league proclaim'd between us
 Bound neither of us further than to aid
 Each other, if by foreign force invaded."

The exact description of the interpretation put by James upon the treaty which bound him to the Princes of the Union.

" And so far in my honour I was tied.
 But since, without our counsel or allowance,
 He hath ta'en arms, with his good leave he must
 Excuse us if we steer not on a rock
 We see and may avoid. Let other monarchs
 Contend to be made glorious by proud war,
 And with the blood of their poor subjects purchase
 Increase of empire, and augment their cares
 In keeping that which was by wrongs extorted,
 Gilding unjust invasions with the trim
 Of glorious conquests ; we, that would be known
 The father of our people, in our study
 And vigilance for their safety, must not change

Their ploughshares into swords, and force them from
 The secure shade of their own vines, to be
 Scorch'd with the flames of war: or, for our sport
 Expose their lives to ruin."

Then follows a conversation between the King and Bertolo, who urges the advantages of war, and reminds Roberto that he rules over an island. He calls it Sicily, but he is evidently thinking of England.

"Here are no mines of gold
 Or silver to enrich you: no worm spins
 Silk in her womb, to make distinction
 Between you and a peasant in your habits:
 No fish lives near our shores whose blood can dye
 Scarlet or purple; all that we possess
 With beasts we have in common: nature did
 Design us to be warriors, and to break through
 Our ring, the sea, by which we are environ'd,
 And we by force must fetch in what is wanting,
 Or precious to us."

After much more in the same strain, the King replies:—

"Rob. Think not
 Our counsel's built upon so weak a base
 As to be overturn'd, or shaken, with
 Tempestuous winds of word. As I, my lord,
 Before resolved you, I will not engage
 My person in this quarrel; neither press
 My subjects to maintain it; yet, to show
 My rule is gentle, and that I have feeling
 O' your master's sufferings, and these gallants, weary
 Of the happiness of peace, desire to taste
 The bitter sweets of war, we do consent
 That, as adventurers and volunteers,
 No way compell'd by us, they may make trial
 Of their boasted valours."

The question naturally rises to our lips, What object could any one have in holding the mirror up to nature, in a form likely to be so particularly offensive to the King? The answer is not very difficult to discover. As the play in which this scene occurred followed close upon 'The Emperor of the East,' it must have been produced at some time between the spring of 1631 and the following year, when it was printed. In the summer and autumn of 1631 Charles

was doing exactly what his father had done in 1620. Gustavus Adolphus had long been looking to him for assistance. Charles gave permission to the Marquis of Hamilton to carry over volunteers to his help, just as James had allowed Vere to carry over volunteers to the Palatine. Hamilton sailed in July, 1631. Then came diplomacy. Vane was sent to negotiate with Gustavus, whilst Anstruther was negotiating in Vienna. Charles felt sure that he had done enough to induce one ruler or the other to engage to restore the Palatinate to his brother-in-law. But he would not engage in open war, for which indeed, as matters stood, he was destitute of the means. He refused even to send more volunteers to reinforce Hamilton's diminished levies. His Majesty, wrote Secretary Dorchester, in December, felt Hamilton's losses 'like a father of his people to whom their blood is precious,' and he would, therefore, risk no more soldiers in Germany. Roberto's last speech no longer represents the words of James. It brings before us Charles himself, as he must have appeared to those who wished him to take an active part in the war.

"Rob. 'Tis well, and, but my grant in this, expect not Assistance from me. Govern as you please The province you make choice of; for, I vow By all things sacred, if that thou miscarry In this rash undertaking, I will hear it No otherwise than as a sad disaster, Fallen on a stranger; nor will I esteem That man my subject, who in thy extremes In purse or person aids thee."

The party to which Massinger attached himself was not one to which any Englishman can look back with satisfaction. The Queen's faction thought more of its quarrel with the Westons, of its private jealousies in Court and Council, than of the responsibilities of power. Ever clamouring for war and a Parliament, they had no policy to prepare for war and no statesmanship to direct a Parliament.

A man like Massinger, however, may very well have thought, as the able and excellent Sir Thomas Roe thought, that at least they were better than their rivals. The mere materialism of Weston's policy must have been offensive to him. To seek to keep the peace and encourage commerce, in the hope that the people being well fed

would cease to care for Parliamentary debates, was a very unideal aim for a statesman to set before himself. It touched the lowest part of English nature, its love of practical success as measured by wealth. It had its exponents too in literature, in that poetry of which the inspiring thought is

“that woman is but dust,
A worthless toy for tyrants’ lust,”

and which, whenever it raised its thoughts above the fleeting follies of the moment, eulogized peace, not as the parent of fruitful works and innocent joys, but as opening possibilities of self-indulgence. Carew’s verses on the death of Gustavus Adolphus to which I have before referred, may be taken as a measure of the baseness which festered round the Court of Charles I.

‘The Maid of Honour’ may be taken as a protest against this mode of regarding the world. I do not know whether there is any truth in the supposition that Massinger was a Roman Catholic. But it is evident that he had much in him which leant that way. The scene in which Camiola is claimed as a nun helps us to understand the Court conversions which frightened Protestant England into rage, and which had as much to do as ship-money had with the final uprising against Charles.

Camiola takes refuge in a nunnery, not from any desire to obtain freer scope for spiritual aspirations, but in order that she may be safe. She wants to reach

“the secure haven, where
Eternal happiness keeps her residence,
Temptations to frailty never entering.”

She is, says Roberto,

“a fair example
For noble maids to imitate ! Since to live
In wealth and pleasure ’s common, but to part with
Such poison’d baits is rare ; there being nothing
Upon this stage of life to be commended.”

Nothing to be commended ! What a voice to rise from the Court of Charles ! We have lately had in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* an arraignment of the Houses of Commons which successively stood up against the King. The faults and vices of Parliaments are

patent to the world. Their unjust judgments, their hasty condemnations, are published in the face of all men. The Court of Charles robed itself in outward decency and escaped the penetrating eye. Here and there we are able to lift the veil, and we are soon repelled by the vacuity, the want of moral earnestness of the life behind. No wonder Court gentlemen and Court ladies fled from its vacuity to a form of religion which offered to save them from this living death.

Upon a play with such an ending it is difficult to rest with satisfaction. Instinctively we turn from her who ends as Camiola ends to her who begins where Camiola ends—to the bright, clear soul of the Isabella of ‘Measure for Measure,’ which, starting from the restrictions of convent life, and carrying with her the ignorance of the world, the slowness to understand the meaning of evil, the readiness to be guided by others, which naturally flow from such a mode of life, triumphs over them all by the innate purity and bravery of her spirit, and finds at last in the very heart of the city of abominations a place where she can work more worthily than in self-chosen retirement.

If we turn from Massinger back to Shakspere, we may turn forward too to the singer of the ‘Comus.’ Two years were to pass away after the exit of Camiola before Milton took upon himself to unfold

“The sublime notion and high mystery
That must be uttered to unfold the sage
And serious doctrine of virginity ;”

of that clearness of spirit and purity of soul which as Shakspere and Milton knew, and as Charles’s dramatists did not know, is the saving grace of man and of woman, of the matron and the maid.

XII.

ON SHAKSPERE'S USE OF NARRATION
IN HIS DRAMAS.

BY PROFESSOR N. DELIUS.

PART II.¹

*(Read at the 29th Meeting of the New Shakspere Society, Friday,
Dec. 8, 1876.)*

If we consider in the first instance the English Historical Plays of Shakspere's earliest period, we see rather the rising than the consummate dramatist, betraying himself not only in many more essential matters, but also by the less artistic and less thoughtful use of the epic element. While in this respect the plays before considered show with but few exceptions a subtle calculation, truly poetical, and nevertheless practical, our poet seems in the Historical Plays of his youth not yet to have formed a fixed canon for the distinction between that part which must be dramatized and the other for which mere narration suffices. Especially, however, Shakspere's comparative immaturity manifests itself in the more superficial framing of the narrative element, in its but loose connection with the other parts of the play, and in the less dramatic colouring of his not unfrequently dry recounting. To explain, and to a certain extent excuse these shortcomings, we must consider the kind of public for which the poet wrote his first histories; a public as naïve as patriotic, not expecting to enjoy in the theatre a work of art—such our poet had still to create for his stage,—a people eager to see passing before their eyes upon the boards, in simple yet distinct form, the glorious deeds of their forefathers, and the changing destinies of their kings and heroes. There everything striking had to be dramatized, everything

¹ The Society is indebted to Miss Eleanor Marx for the englishing of this Paper from its German original, which appears also in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakspere Society.

intermediate, so far as it appeared necessary for information or recapitulation, to be mentioned incidentally, without much artistic by-work, without individual impress, as Shakspere found it in the chronicles, only more compressed, and of course versified, as the dignity of the subject required blank verse.

The 1st Part of *Henry VI* commences with the parentation of the just-dead king, Henry V., which in its rhetorical, but not individualizing manner, reminds us of the tragic style of Shakspere's immediate predecessors, and clearly proves that the picture of his future favourite prince had not yet unveiled itself to him. Colourless throughout are, in the same scene, the rapidly succeeding ill-tidings from France, from which only in general outlines rises the popular hero-figure of Talbot. No more can be said for the next scene of the same act: it is the Pucelle's story told by herself. Shakspere here only repeats the statements of his chronicler Holinshed, giving them no free dramatic form, not elaborating out of them the figure of the God-inspired maid, who, it is true, appeared to his countrymen in quite another light.

With somewhat livelier colours, and borne up by English patriotism, appears on the other hand in the 4th scene of Act I. Talbot's narrative of his French captivity, which could not fail to produce an electric effect on Shakspere's public. As a further epic element we find at the end of Act II. the historical retrospect which the poet has placed in the mouth of the dying Mortimer. Of course it was not so much his object to acquaint Richard Plantagenet with his hereditary claim to the English throne, already sufficiently familiar to him, as to enlighten the public on this political contention so essential to the progress of the whole tetralogy. More fully, but in an equally dry manner, this same contest is again expatiated upon in the 2nd Part of *Henry VI*, II. ii. With more dramatic life, and unmistakably characteristic of Shakspere's meanwhile advanced domination and penetration of his historical materials, appear in this 2nd Part, III. i., the epic elements: the reported forebodings of the approaching troubles; the drastic portraiture (in York's monologue) of Jack Cade, whereby the poet introduces to the public that pretender and rebel before he makes him present himself in the half-comic activity of his

revolt. A good example of the more adorned and refined descriptive style, as he knew how to handle it in this his earlier period, Shakspere gives us in the poetical imagery of Queen Margaret recounting her bridal journey. Here the poet had not, as in most of his early historical plays, a chronicle to refer to, but, as in other dramas of this time, gave free vent to his fancy, to his youthful fondness for elegant trifling and conceits, not combined with a deeper characterization of the person speaking. A similar tendency the poet evidently follows in the 3rd Part of *Henry VI*, II. v., in the monologue of the unhappy king, who during the struggle for his crown, near the battle field, paints to himself the idyllic life of the poor shepherd. With this elegy there contrasts strikingly the monologue of Richard Gloster, III. ii., so to say, the programme to the fatal tragedy of crime and ambition unrolled in the last drama of this tetralogy of York and Lancaster. The model of it Shakspere certainly found in the chronicle, but his own most original creation, the character of Richard, he already here independently traces, the epic sketch for his dramatically elaborated picture, the central point of his play *Richard III*, which we shall now consider.

The epic elements of this tragedy are principally of a retrospective kind, and show clearly throughout the whole play the tendency of the poet to interlace it with the preceding histories. By means of this criterion I have tried in another paper of the *Jahrbuch*, vol. vii. p. 124, to vindicate the authenticity of the Folio text of *Richard III* as opposed to the Quarto text, whose editor, considering such historical reminiscences superfluous to this drama in itself, had consistently rejected them. With respect to this kind of epic element it will therefore suffice to refer to my paper just quoted. But our drama offers also epic elements of another kind. For instance, Act I. sc. iv., Clarence's dream, which, compared to Queen Margaret's story of her bridal voyage, proves the mighty progress meanwhile accomplished by Shakspere's art. While on both these occasions the dramatic form remained as a matter of course excluded, there occur in *Richard III* two incidents which might as well have been acted on the stage as narrated by the persons concerned in them. The one (III. vii.) is Buckingham's recital of his transactions with the London

citizens. Since this narrative was to serve as a proper introduction to the immediately following farce arranged between Gloster and Buckingham, the drastic effect of the scene would rather have been weakened than strengthened by dramatizing the former one. The second incident (IV. iii.) is the murder of the two sons of Edward IV. The poet has perhaps not dramatized it, because the simple suffocation of two sleeping children exhibited on the stage could hardly have produced such an effect on the public as the thrilling relation—from the lips of the trembling, repentant murderers themselves—of the touching picture of these children.

Between the cycle of plays taken from English History which Shakspere wrote in his earliest period, and those which we may ascribe to his second period, there is the single drama *King John*, exceptionally not founded on Holinshed's chronicles, but on the older play of an unknown author. In comparing both plays, the point most important for our present purpose is that our poet, though faithfully following, to outward appearance, at least, his dramatic predecessor, nevertheless limits himself to recounting many scenes which the other has dramatized. Thus the achievements of the bastard Faulconbridge in ransacking the churches, is only occasionally, and in general outlines, characterized by Shakspere (III. iv., and IV. ii.), while the older drama delights in presenting him on the boards in the midst of such edifying work, and on that occasion lapses into details more than scurrilous. Thus in the older drama the said Faulconbridge arrests the prophet Peter of Pomfret on the stage during a rather coarse popular scene, while Shakspere (IV. ii.) prefers describing, to showing us, the popular figure of the mob-followed mutineer in his early ended career. Lastly, in the older *King John* the repast of the king in the garden of the abbey, and his poisoning by the fanatic monk, is enacted before the eyes of the spectators; likewise the monk dies immediately after his draught, and the Bastard stabs the abbot on the stage. Shakspere contented himself with having these things only told, in order not to weaken by the scenic representation of such crass incidents the touching effect of the death-scene of the king. From the drama of his predecessor Shakspere has appropriated another epic element: the introductory

story of the brothers Faulconbridge. A third element, more descriptive and reflective than narrative, belongs to our poet alone: the monologues of the Bastard, with their humorously profound glosses on the events of the day, whether concerning himself or the fashionable society he has become a member of, and its shifting policy. These epic additions were wanted to place in full relief the genial humorist into whom Shakspere transformed the bombastic bully of his predecessor.

The second tetralogy from English History begins with *Richard II*, whose first scene contains an epic element—on the one hand retrospective, and on the other preparatory of the coming events—the main subject of the play, the banishment and return of Bolingbroke. To the rather colourless chronicle-reports of the dispute between the future pretender and his adversary Norfolk the poet has given life and individuality, and thus from the outset interests and instructs his spectators. That in the following scene (I. ii.) Gloster's assassination is only told, not enacted, appears justified by the economy of the drama, before the beginning of which that bloody misdeed was committed. To emphasize it, however, was necessary as the first item in the register of trespass of the king, which in the course of the play is continually lengthened, and leads at last to his dethronement. Significant and characteristic is further, in the mouth of the king (I. iv.), his malignant but telling description of Bolingbroke's popularity-hunting, and his success with the multitude. These keenly calculated efforts of the ambitious man could not well be enacted scenically in a play which in general excludes altogether the popular scenes so frequent in the first tetralogy; but for the proper understanding of what follows, they had to be brought home to the imagination of the public. In like manner, and with the same motive, the epic element is again applied to Bolingbroke in two other passages of the play. First (III. ii.) in the king's touching self-confession of his sinking might and authority as contrasted with the ascendant ones of the pretender returned home. A dramatic representation of what is here uttered in the pathos of despair would have required a whole series of scenes, and still could not have attained the same psychological effect. A brilliant specimen of Shaksperian art in the de-

scriptive style is York's report (already mentioned in my former paper) of Bolingbroke's entry into London with the captive Richard in his following. It is obvious that this striking picture might have tempted a stage-manager of our time to exhibit with all the pomp he could command, the triumphal march of Bolingbroke, and to sacrifice to a spectacle so fascinating for the public the supplementary recital of York. We readers, however, would not miss the latter even for such a dazzling compensation; and we are well content that the modest stage conditions of Shakspere's time forbade the poet to charge the boards with such a luxury of men and horses, and induced him to consider in this case the auditor rather than the spectator. Lastly, at the conclusion of the drama (V. iii.) the loose tavern life of Prince Henry and his boon companions is alluded to in a light but sufficient sketch. The poet retained for the two following parts of this tetralogy the scenic representation of this merry circle, which would not have corresponded to the general tone of our drama, and especially to its tragic end. Nevertheless the allusion to it was already here necessary as, according to the poet's plan, these four historical plays, like the preceding ones, were to represent in the eyes of the public an *ensemble*.

In the 1st Part of *Henry IV* we find comparatively little of the epic element. The historical materials offered the poet by the chronicle embraced hardly one year of the king's reign, and therefore accommodated itself the more easily to the dramatic form without frequent recourse to the epic element. It is, in fact, only on important occasions that narrative replaces scenic action. That in the beginning of the play the various symptoms of rebellion and resistance against the hardly established authority of King Henry were only enumerated and reported, reminds us of Shakspere's similar treatment of his theme in the 1st Part of *Henry VI*, and may serve at the same time to prove the immense artistic progress of our poet since his first juvenile essay in the field of Historical Drama. An entire scene teeming with life and actuality is comprised in Percy's self-defence (I. iii.). The manner in which he justifies his refusal to deliver the prisoners by his natural antipathy to the king's courtly messenger and his foppish manners is so masterly, that with-

out scenic representation, from the mere recital, we are able fully to understand the antagonism between the bleeding hero and the smooth, perfumed diplomatist, horrified at the sight of corses and the smell of powder. Another epic element (III. ii.) is the king's retrospective depiction of his politic bearing at the time of Richard II., in a certain sense the pendant of a passage of the former drama already dwelt upon; only that Bolingbroke's popularity-hunting is as odiously represented by Richard, as it is complacently recommended for imitation to his son by the now-crowned Bolingbroke, who, to this purpose, exhibits it in quite another light. We see that in the progress of his art Shakspere connects more and more intimately and firmly the epic and the dramatic elements, the description and the character of the describer. The 2nd Part of *Henry IV*, containing the more abundant matter of the nine last years of this king's reign, and even the advent of his successor, required for its completion a more frequent use of the epic than did the first Part. To this belongs, firstly, the introductory prologue spoken by the allegorical figure of Rumour, which connects the two parts and advises the public as to time and place. At the end of the 1st Part the poet has given only a few characteristic scenes of the battle of Shrewsbury. A comprehensive report of the same, of its results and effects on the allies of the fallen Percy, Shakspere could only give us now (I. i.). A touching record of Percy's heroism and peculiarities he pronounces through Lady Percy (II. iii.), and thus shows us once more in idealized transfiguration the image of Hotspur—too soon become Coldspur. Remarkable are also the reiterated references to events which Shakspere's public must have sufficiently known from the play of *Richard II*; so Act III. sc. i., and Act IV. sc. i. in the mouths of the rebels, thereby stating their grievances against the alleged usurper Henry. Thus Act IV. sc. iv. in the mouth of the dying king. These are not at all superfluous recapitulations, but new illustrations of known facts from adverse political standpoints. We now feel, how in the continued occupation with these parts of the national history, not only the poet's dramatic art develops itself, but also how his political keenness exercises itself and penetrates deeper. Also in this respect the more matured Shakspere of the second differs essentially

from the youthful Shakspere of the first tetralogy with his naïver reading and treatment of the chronicle records.

If already in the 2nd Part of *Henry IV* the greater abundance of historical material induced the poet to recur more freely to narrative exposition, this expedient was suggested still more in *Henry V*, by its greater exuberance of thronging events which had to be artistically grouped into one picture. Having once successfully introduced Rumour as prologue to a whole play, the poet now went a step further, and prefaced the single acts by Chorus. He thereby gained the advantage not only of making up for the deficiencies of dramatic action, but could also, through descriptive imagery of the given situations, impress them more forcibly upon the fancy of his public than would have been possible under the poor circumstances of the stage. As an example of Shakspere's mastery in descriptive poetry, the chorus to the 4th Act has already been referred to in my former paper. We might as well have referred to most of the other chorus-prologues, such as that to the 3rd Act, describing the embarkation of the English army at Southampton, and that to the 5th Act, setting forth Henry's triumphal entry into London. Other epic elements are combined in the single acts throughout the whole play. Thus Act I. sc. i., the characterization of the new king placed in the mouth of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the stress intentionally laid on his sudden reformation since his accession to the throne. Such high commendation was the more fitting at the commencement of this play, as Shakspere in the two preceding ones had shown us his pet hero, the Prince of Wales, in quite another light. In the following scene the circumstantial publicistic justification of the war prepared against France has evidently a two-fold purpose—firstly, to enlighten the English public on the disputed right of succession; secondly, to represent the king, not as a conqueror of foreign territory impelled by wicked ambition, but as the manly vindicator of old hereditary rights. With these threatening tempests in France is contrasted the well-ordered state of peace in England, pictured in the homely parallel of the prosperous situation of a bee-kingdom, a miniature painting which again shows Shakspere's mastership in a non-dramatic field.

Act III. sc. ii., Mistress Quickly in her characteristic manner gives an account of Falstaff's last moments. The poet could not, of course, present the death-scene of the fat knight who during both the preceding plays had only lived for the amusement of the public. Still the end he made could not be passed over, if only to meet the disappointment of the public, which, according to a promise in the epilogue of the 2nd Part of *Henry IV*, expected the re-appearance of the popular "hill of flesh." On the other hand, Act IV. sc. vi., the tidings of the heroic death on the battle-field of the brothers in arms, Suffolk and York, are so thrillingly told that its scenic enactment, even if the poet had thought it compatible with the general interests of the quickly advancing action, would hardly have produced the same effect upon the spectators. A sample of descriptive poetry (Act V. sc. ii.) is offered by the impressive eloquence with which the Duke of Burgundy as peace-maker delineates the devastation made by war in the "garden of France." The images borrowed from rural life and agriculture remind us of similar ones in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and mark one of the traits of Shakspere's character, who in the midst of his glorious London activity never lost sight of the rural and agricultural interests of his native home.

Especially rich in epic elements, abounding more than all others in pompous descriptions, political expositions, and historical characterization is Shakspere's latest drama from English History—*Henry VIII*. This play differs in form from all the other histories of our poet, and presents much less the self-sustaining unity of the drama than a juxtaposition of important incidents of the king's life. The brilliant interview of the two kings of England and France in Picardy, with its rival pageantry so graphically described by Norfolk, the poet could not have even approximatively produced on his stage. Besides, this meeting belongs to the prelude of the drama, and Norfolk's refined hyperbolical report is mainly intended to serve as a striking example of Wolsey's insolence and ambition. Buckingham naturally improves this occasion to enumerate further complaints against Wolsey's misgovernment. With swift rebound his own trial is related in the following scene. In the beginning of the 2nd Act Shakspere recurs to a make-shift already employed, as pointed out

in my first paper, in other dramas of his last period almost contemporaneous with *Henry VIII*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *Cymbeline*. The poet introduces two gentlemen in conversation in order to inform his public of the events of the day, and to prepare them for the coming ones.

Thus in this colloquy Buckingham's bearing before his judges and the preparatory steps to the king's divorce are dwelt upon. These same two gentlemen again meet at the beginning of the 4th Act, and report on the further calamities of the divorced Queen Katherine. As a set-off to this, a third gentleman joining them tells the coronation of Anna Boleyn in Westminster Abbey. To present this ecclesiastical spectacle on the boards, our poet was probably forbidden alike by deficient theatrical means as by other considerations. He, or rather the direction of the Globe Theatre, had therefore to content themselves with exhibiting the coronation-procession to the Abbey. In the following scene between Katherine and her confidential servant Griffith, the last hours of Wolsey are discussed, and his character and actions impartially appreciated. Since Katherine was to die in the same touching scene, its pathos would have been impaired if Wolsey's end had been shown the spectators just before. For the same reasons as the coronation of Anna Boleyn, the christening of the new-born Princess Elizabeth could not take place on the stage. In this case, however, Shakspere does not again resort to the gossip of noble eye-witnesses, but finds a much more original expedient. The pressure of the loyal people in the royal palace-yard on the occasion of this solemnity is better depicted by the humorous dialogue between the porter and his man, who have to resist this mob, than could have been attained by any scenical appearance of the motley crowd. To make amends, however, the solemn procession passes over the boards on its return from the christening in the Palace, and Archbishop Cranmer in an inspired oration prophesies the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth. After having examined with regard to their epic element the ten plays whose themes Shakspere borrowed from the history of his own country and people, we shall conclude by the consideration of the three plays from Roman history.

As the copious materials offered our poet by the English chronicles

could for his dramatic purpose not always be scenically elaborated, but were to be worked in by way of reports, descriptions, and occasional allusions, so he employs on a still larger scale the contents of Plutarch's Biographies both epically and dramatically, just as it suits every single case. As to the proceeding observed by Shakspere in *Coriolanus*, I may refer to my dissertation in the last volume of the *Jahrbuch* (vol. xi. p. 32); I have there spoken of the relation between Shakspere's *Coriolanus* and the *Coriolanus* of Plutarch with regard to the scenic representation, characteristics, and language, and in the discussion of the two first points I entered so fully into the question now treated of that I could only repeat here the results there arrived at.

Three of Plutarch's Biographies—Cæsar, Brutus, and Antony—offered our poet for his *Julius Cæsar* such an abundance not only of historic events, but also of characteristic traits, that he could of course not use the whole dramatically, but had to avail himself of it to a great extent epically. He resorted the more freely to the latter expedient, as the structure of this his first Roman play is much simpler, and its dimensions smaller, than is the case in either of the two Roman dramas of his last period.

The antagonism between Cæsar and his great rival Pompey precedes the commencement of our play, and is therefore only alluded to in the sketch by the tribune (Act I. sc. i.) of Pompey's former triumphal marches through the streets of Rome. This retrospect, intended to rebuke the people's fickleness, is followed up in the subsequent scene by a retrospect intended to work upon Brutus's mind, Cassius reminding him of moments in Cæsar's life which showed the now God-like ruler as a frail man crying for help. The Comedy played between Antony and Cæsar, the one repeatedly offering the crown, the other repeatedly refusing it amidst the acclaiming shouts of the assembled people, is brought forward not scenically, but through Casca's scurrilous report. Shakspere's artistic aim to impress upon the spectators the deeper sense of this incident and its effect upon Brutus and Cassius, was thus evidently more surely attained.

A similar intention may have induced him (Act I. sc. vi.) only

to relate the prodigies recorded by Plutarch. Their visible production, even if possible in the then state of the theatre, would hardly have answered the profounder tendency of the poet. Hence he contented himself with the conventional "thunder and lightning," and left it to the fancy of his audience to imagine, in keeping with Casca's words, the flaming hands of the slave, the lion at the Capitol, the fiery men in the streets of Rome, the bird of night sitting upon the Market Place. He likewise makes Calphurnia (Act II. sc. iii.) return to these ill-boding wonders and relate other ones. In the apostrophe of Antony to the dead Cæsar (Act III. sc. i.) we have, in anticipation of coming events, an energetically comprehensive delineation of all the horrors of the civic strife that shall break forth on Cæsar's death, and "as a curse, shall light upon the limbs of men." Shakspere interwove this description the better here, as, according to the whole plan of this play, these horrors could not have been scenically enacted in the following Acts. Historical prospects such as Plutarch offered them, the poet embodied in the mutual recriminations of Brutus and Cassius (Act IV. sc. iii.), but only so far as he thought it necessary for the illustration of the quarrel and subsequent reconciliation of the two friends. The decisive battle of Philippi, with which the tragedy concludes, could not have been fought on the boards of *his* theatre. Apart from the actual battlefield he produces only the episodes, first of the fall of Cassius, then of Brutus; and he has the occurrences of the battle, as far as needful for the information of the public, reported by different persons concerned in it.

If in the play just considered the poet develops a comparatively simple action on not too large a scale, he, on the contrary, unfolds before the eye of the public in his last Roman drama—*Antony and Cleopatra*—a much more complicated series of events, grouped round the two leading figures on an incomparably larger field and with a constant change of scene and actors. To unroll the connecting unity of these variegated, almost bewildering multitude of events, dramatic action alone was inadequate; for the exposition and completion of the already overflowing dramatic element the poet was more than ever forced to resort to the epic element. There had to be recounted

and related what could not be exhibited in additional scenes; decorative detail-painting had to supply the deficiencies of the stage, prevailing even at Shakspere's later period. Thus at the commencement of the play, in the reports of the messengers, the disasters threatening from different sides are in quick gradation announced to Antony, instead of being shown to the spectators. A messenger informs Octavius in the same conventional way of sinister news (Act I. sc. iv.), which evokes in him reminiscences of Antony's earlier life: his manly endurance of the hardships and privations of war, as opposed to his before-described effeminacy and lasciviousness which he now indulges in, in the bondage of Cleopatra. The mutual recriminations (Act II. sc. ii.) of the rival triumvirs complete by their historical retrospects the public's knowledge of preceding events. The brilliant description of the first meeting of Antony and Cleopatra that follows, I have already discussed in my first paper, and explained the leading motive of the poet. The historical retrospect placed in the mouth of the younger Pompey (Act II. sc. vi.) has the same tendency as the former ones, and also justifies his claim inherited from his father. Our poet could not think of putting upon the stage the Parthian war, in which neither Antony nor Octavius had participated. But its victorious termination by Ventidius might well be recounted in order to characterize the position which the subaltern victor occupies, or believes he occupies, with respect to his Commander Antony. Antony's further unpolitical and reckless doings at Alexandria (Act III. sc. vi.) and the motives of his later fall are related in the speech of Octavius; and in the same scene the failure of her mission to her faithless husband is reported by Octavia returned to Rome. Shakspere spared himself and his public the painful scene of the meeting and parting of the ill-paired consorts. Generally, in contradistinction to the modern treatment of the same subject, he with true historic conception lays by far less stress on the rivalry between Cleopatra and Octavia than on that between Antony and Octavius. The sea-fight near Actium, the poet could as little present scenically as the land-battle at Philippi. It passes, on the contrary, behind the scenes, but because of its influence on Antony's further destiny, the poet makes the spectators at least indirectly

witness this great catastrophe through the reflected light of the effects that its prelude, progress, and result produce on the persons engaged in it. In the two last Acts, Shakspere evidently allows the psychological and personal interest attaching to the two principal actors in his drama to outweigh the historical interest. The further action up to the tragic end is scenically enacted before our eyes, within a narrower compass, so that the poet had no need to again make use of the epic element.

[In this Paper, Prof. Delius assumes that Shakspere wrote the whole of 1 *Henry VI*,—a supposition that I know no Englishman who would sanction,—and also all 2 & 3 *Henry VI*, and all *Henry VIII*; theories that some, though I hope few, Englishmen would support, though the monologue of Henry VI in 2 *H. VI*, II. v. is of course Shakspere's. But the Professor's discussion of the use of narrative in these many-handed plays is none the less interesting and valuable, by whomsoever we hold they were written.

As the obsolescent word “parentation,” p. 333, sent me to the Dictionary for its definition, I copy that for the benefit of other readers :

“*Parentation.* s. Something done or said in honour of the dead.

‘Let fortune this new *parentation* make
For hated Carthage’s dire spirit’s sake.’

May, *Translation of Lucan*, b. iv.

“Some other ceremonies were practised, which differed not much from those used in *parentations*.—Archbishop Potter, *Antiquities of Greece*, ii. 18.”—Latham’s Johnson.—F. J. F.]

‘old’: *adj.* great. *Macb.* Porter, &c. “But if you shall refuse to marrie, then will he lay all the fault vpon you, and there will be **olde** stirre and hurleburlie.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 38, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

“Why, my maister hath ouerthrowne him
And his Curtall, both to the ground;
I shall haue **olde** laughing;
It will be better then the Fox in the hole for me.”
1599. *Soliman and Perseda*, sign. B 3, back.

‘at quiet’: *J. Cæsar*. “neither can the same [religion in Scotland], by meanes of old hatred remaining in seed, be **at quiet**.”—J. Hooker, continuation of Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii. 1563, col. 1, l. 41-2, ed. 1587.

‘slaver’: *Cymb.*, I. vii. “*Farfallone*, the filthic snot of ones nose, or gubbon¹ of fleame . . . Also, a filthie snottie, slouenly, slauering, driereling fellow.”—1598; Florio.

‘tender years’: *Ven. & Ad.*, 1091, &c. “before, or till then, how couldst thou know his nature, or discerne his disposition, whilst **tender yeares** [ætas], young age, awe, and his master, kept him vnder?”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 9, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘thrasonical’: *L. L. Lost*, V. i. “Richard Tarlton, in the Dedication to his *Tarletons Tragical Treatises*, 1578, expresses his fear of getting ‘the name and note of a *Thrasonicall Clawback*.’”—Hazlitt’s *Handbook*.

‘time and tide’: *Rom. & Jul.* “Yet time & tide (that staies for no man) forbids vs to tire any more on this carrion, being more than gluttid with it alreadie.”—1596; T. Nash, *Saffron Walden*, sign. I.

‘white’; ‘spit white’: *Falstaff*. “If the spettle be white viscus, the sickenesse commeth of fleame; if black, of melancholy. . . . *The whitte spettle not knottie, signifieth health.*”—Addition to lib. vii. cap. 29 of *Batman uppon Bartholome*, ed. 1582, fol. 97. Skeat.

¹ from ‘gob.’

APPENDICES.

- I. Shakspere's Dramatic Art.
 - a. Editorial Note, by Dr C. M. INGLEBY, p. 349.
 - b. The Time-Analysis of *Macbeth* and *Othello*, by the late Prof. J. WILSON (Christopher North), condensed by the Editor, p. 351.
 - c. Shakspere's Dramatic Unities, with The Time-Analysis of *The Merchant of Venice*, by the late Rev. N. J. HALPIN, p. 388.
- II. Dr S. Forman's *Book of Plays*, or Notes in 1611 on Shakspere's *Richard II*, *Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*; with extracts from The Lord Treasurer's accounts for 6 Plays acted in 1613, p. 413.
- III. On the Confusion of Time in the *Merry Wives*, by R. GRANT WHITE, Esq., p. 421.
- IV. Appian's Civil Wars, 1578 : Extract from Book II, p. 427.
- V. Account of the German Shakspere Society's *Jahrbuch*, 1876, by F. D. MATTHEW, Esq., p. 440.
- VI. Collation of the First edition of Marlowe's *Edward II*, 1594, with Dyce's text of 1850, Marlowe's *Works*, vol. ii., by DR RUDOLF GENÉE of Dresden, p. 445.
- VII. Shakspeareana published during the years 1874 and 1875, communicated by FRANZ THIMM, p. 452.

APPENDIX I.

SHAKSPERE'S DRAMATIC ART.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN WILSON AND THE REV. N. J. HALPIN.

a. IN presenting a reprint of these remarkable papers to the *New Shakspere Society*, a few words of explanation may be acceptable. The first mention of Professor Wilson's "astounding discovery" occurs in the fifth part of *Dies Boreales*, which appeared in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for November, 1849. The subject is continued and developed in the sixth part, which was published in the same serial for April, 1850. Between the publication of Christopher North's two papers aforesaid, the leading Irish Shakspere-critic, the Rev. N. J. Halpin, awoke to the somewhat mortifying and "astounding discovery" that he had been anticipated in his theory of Shakspere's *Dramatic Unities*, and that the *Time-Analysis*, which he was then engaged in applying to Shakspere's Plays with the most startling and fruitful results, had been already revealed to his great Scotch rival. Professor Wilson had already applied it to *Macbeth*, and he afterwards employed it for dissecting the more intricate construction of *Othello*. Mr Halpin lost no time in preparing for the press his *Time-Analysis of the Merchant of Venice*, and it was published by Hodges and Smith of Dublin in that very month of November, with some introductory remarks (which we do not reprint) asserting and fully sustaining the originality and independence of his investigations. Meanwhile the great Christopher went on his way

"In maudlin meditation, fancy-free,"

apparently as unconscious of the very existence of Mr Halpin and his pamphlet as of the fact that his own rambling and bombastic, but

genial and spirited, dialogues were destined to be mercilessly condensed and abridged for the benefit of the *New Shakspere Society*. If he did become conscious of Mr Halpin's existence he was probably not solicitous about his work, and at the most may possibly have asked, as our readers are sure to do,—“Who's this Halpin?” This question we take leave to answer as briefly as possible. Nicholas John Halpin was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and a clergyman of the English Church; he was the author of two (perhaps the very best) original publications of the old *Shakespeare Society*, viz., *Oberon's Vision in the Midsummer-Night's Dream, Illustrated by a Comparison with Lylie's Endymion*, 1843, pp. viii. and 108, and *The Bridal Runaway: an Essay on Juliet's Soliloquy—Romeo and Juliet*, III. ii., pp. 19, being Art. IV. in the second volume of the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, 1845. Mr Halpin died in the autumn of 1850, at the age of 60, in the lifetime of his rival. His eldest son informs us that his father's death was probably caused by the unremitting labour of preparing his *Dramatic Unities* for the press at a time when he was suffering from ill health. On his death all his papers were sent to his youngest son, who has since died in New York. He inherited his father's literary talents, and wrote much periodical literature under the *nom de plume* of “Private Myles O'Reilly.” He was a General in the United States Army and Registrar of the State of New York. What has become of those papers we have not heard. Shakspere-students are interested in their preservation; for it may be said of Mr Halpin, *nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*.

C. M. INGLEBY.

b. DOUBLE-TIME-ANALYSIS OF *MACBETH*
AND *OTHELLO*.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN WILSON.

IN FOUR SCENES.

Interlocutors :—CHRISTOPHER NORTH, TALBOYS, SEWARD, AND BULLER.

Scene I.

N. In *Macbeth*, *Time and Place*, through the First Scene of the First Act, are past finding out. It has been asked—Was Shakspere ever in Scotland? Never. There is not one word in this Tragedy leading a Scotsman to think so—many showing he never had that happiness. Let him deal with our localities according to his own sovereign will and pleasure, as a prevailing Poet. But let no man point out his dealings with our localities as proofs of his having such knowledge of them as implies personal acquaintance with them gained by a longer or shorter visit in Scotland. The Fights at the beginning seem to be in Fife. The Soldier, there wounded, delivers his relation at the King's Camp before Forres. He has crawled, in half-an-hour, or an hour—or two hours—say seventy, eighty, or a hundred miles, or more—crossing the ridge of the Grampians. Rather smart. I do not know what you think here of Time; but I think that Space is here pretty well done for. The TIME of the Action of Shakspere's Plays has never yet, so far as I know, been, in any one Play, carefully investigated—never investigated at all; and I now announce to you Three—don't mention it—that I have made discoveries here that will astound the whole world, and demand a New Criticism of the entire Shaksperian Drama. * * *

B. Now for some of your *astounding Discoveries*.

N. If you gather the Movement, scene by scene, of the Action of this Drama, you see a few weeks, or it may be months. There must be time to hear that Malcolm and his brother have reached England

and Ireland—time for the King of England to interest himself in behalf of Malcolm, and muster his array. More than this seems unrequired. But the zenith of tyranny to which Macbeth has arrived, and particularly the manner of describing the desolation of Scotland by the speakers in England, conveys to you the notion of a long, long dismal reign. Of old it always used to do so with me ; so that when I came to visit the question of the Time, I felt myself as if baffled and puzzled, not finding the time I had looked for, demonstrable. Samuel Johnson has had the same impression, but has not scrutinised the data. He goes probably by the old Chronicler for the actual time, and this, one would think, must have floated before Shakspere's own mind.

T. Nobody can read the Scenes in England without seeing long-protracted time.

“ *Malcolm.* Let us seek out some desolate shade, and there Weep our sad bosoms empty.

“ *Macduff.* Let us rather Hold fast the mortal sword, and, like good men, Bestride our down-fallen birthdom : Each new morn, New widows howl ; new orphans cry ; new sorrows Strike heaven on the face, that it resounds As if it felt with Scotland, and yell'd out Like syllable of dolour.”

And in the same dialogue Malcolm says—

“ I think our country sinks beneath the yoke ; It weeps, it bleeds ; and each new day a gash Is added to her wounds.”

And hear Rosse, on his joining Malcolm and Macduff in this scene, the latest arrival from Scotland :—

“ *Macduff.* Stands Scotland where it did ?

“ *Rosse.* Alas, poor country ! Almost afraid to know itself ! It cannot Be call'd our mother, but our grave : where nothing, But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile ; Where sighs and groans, and shrieks that rent the air, Are made, not mark'd ; where violent sorrow seems A modern ecstasy ; the dead man's knell Is there scarce ask'd, for who ; and good men's lives Expire before the flowers in their caps, Dying, or ere they sicken.”

N. Now, my dear Talboys, let us here endeavour to ascertain Shakspere's Time. Here we have long time with a vengeance—and here we have short time; FOR THIS IS THE PICTURE OF THE STATE OF POOR SCOTLAND BEFORE THE MURDER OF MACDUFF'S WIFE AND CHILDREN. Macduff, moved by Rosse's words, asks him, "how does my wife?" And then ensues the affecting account of her murder, which you need not recite. Now, I ask, when was the murder of Lady Macduff perpetrated? Two days—certainly not more—after the murder of Banquo. Macbeth, incensed by the flight of Fleance, goes, the morning after the murder of Banquo, to the Weirds, to know by "the worst means, the worst." You know what they showed him—and that, as they vanished, he exclaimed—

"Where are they? Gone?—Let this pernicious hour
Stand aye accursed in the calendar!—
Come in, without there!"

Enter LENOX.

Len. What's your grace's will?
Macb. Saw you the weird sisters?
Len. No, my lord.
Macb. Came they not by you?
Len. No, indeed, my lord.
Macb. Infected be the air whereton they ride;
And damn'd all those that trust them!—I did hear
The galloping of horse: Who was't came by?
Len. 'Tis two or three, my lord, that bring you word,
MACDUFF IS FLED TO ENGLAND.
Macb. Fled to England?
Len. Ay, my good lord.
Macb. Time, thou anticipat'st my dread exploits:
The flighty purpose never is o'ertook,
Unless the deed go with it: from this moment,
The very firstlings of my heart shall be
The firstlings of my hand. And even now
To crown my thoughts with acts, be it thought and done:
The castle of Macduff I will surprise;
Seize upon Fife; give to the edge o' the sword
His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
That trace his line. No boasting like a fool:
This deed I'll do, before this purpose cool."

And his purpose does not cool—for the whole Family are murdered.

When, then, took place the murder of Banquo? Why, a week or two after the murder of Duncan. A very short time indeed, then, intervened between the first and the last of these murders. And yet from those pictures of Scotland, painted in England for our information and horror, we have before us a long, long time, all filled up with butchery over all the land! But I say there had been no such butchery—or anything resembling it. There was, as yet, little amiss with Scotland. Look at the *linking* of Acts II. and III. End of Act II., Macbeth is gone to Scone—to be invested. Beginning of Act III., Banquo says, in soliloquy, in Palace of Forres, “Thou hast it now.” I ask, when is *this now*? Assuredly just after the Coronation. The Court was moved from Scone to Forres, which, we may gather from finding Duncan there formerly, to be the usual Royal Residence. “Enter Macbeth as King.” “Our great Feast”—our “solemn Supper”—“this day’s Council”—all have the aspect of new taking on the style of Royalty. “Thou hast it now,” is formal—weighed—and in a position that gives it authority—at the very beginning of an Act—therefore intended to mark time—a very pointing of the finger on the dial.

Banquo fears “Thou play’dst most foully for it;” he goes no farther—not a word of any tyranny done. All the style of an incipient, *dangerous* Rule—clouds, but no red rain yet. And I need not point out to you, Talboys, that Macbeth’s behaviour at the Banquet, on seeing Banquo nodding at him from his own stool, proves him to have been *then* young in blood.

“ My strange and self-abuse
Is the initiate fear that wants hard use.
We are yet but young in deed.”

He had a week or two before committed a first-rate murder, Duncan’s—that night he had, by hired hands, got a second-rate job done, Banquo’s—and the day following he gave orders for a bloody business on a more extended scale, the Macduffs. But nothing here the least like Rosse’s, or Macduff’s, or Malcolm’s Picture of Scotland—during those few weeks. For Shakspere forgot what the true time was—his own time—*the short time*; and introduced *long time at the same time*—why, he himself no doubt knew.

I call that an ASTOUNDING DISCOVERY. Macduff speaks as if he knew that Scotland had been for ever so long desolated by the Tyrant—and yet till Rosse told him, never had he heard of the Murder of his own Wife! Here Shakspere either forgot himself wholly, and the short time he had himself assigned—or, with his eyes open, forced in the *long time* upon the *short*—in wilful violation of possibility! All silent?

T. After supper—you shall be answered.

N. Not by any man now sitting here—or elsewhere.¹

Pray, Talboys, explain to me *this*. The Banquet scene breaks up in most admired disorder—“stand not upon the order of your going—but go at once,”—quoth the Queen. The King, in a state of great excitement, says to her—

“I will to-morrow,
(Betimes I will,) unto the weird sisters :
More shall they speak ; for now I am bent to know,
By the worst means, the worst : for mine own good,
All causes shall give way ; I am in blood
Stept in so far, that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er.”

One might have thought not quite so tedious; as yet he had murdered only Duncan and his grooms, and to-night Banquo. Well, he does go “to-morrow and by times” to the Cave.

“Witch.—By the pricking of my thumbs,
Something wicked this way comes :
Open, locks, whoever knocks.

Macbeth.—How now, you secret, Black, and midnight Hags?”

It is a “dark Cave”—dark at all times—and now “by times” of the morning! Now—observe—Lenox goes along with Macbeth—on such occasions ‘tis natural to wish “one of ourselves” to be at hand. And Lenox had been at the Banquet. Had he gone to bed after that strange Supper? No doubt, for an hour or two—like the rest of “the Family.” But whether he went to bed or not, *then and there* he and another Lord had a confidential and miraculous conversation. Lenox says to the other Lord—

¹ “Or elsewhere.” Yet in Dublin, at the moment of writing this, Mr Halpin had discovered the solution of this problem, and had applied it to *Twelfth Night*, and the *Merchant of Venice*.—ED.

*"My former speeches have but hit your thoughts,
Which can interpret further ; only, I say,
Things have been strangely borne : the gracious Duncan
Was pitied of Macbeth—merry he was dead.
And the right valiant Banquo walked too late ;
Whom, you may say, if it please you, Fleance killed,
For Fleance fled."*

Who told him all this about Banquo and Fleance ? He speaks of it quite familiarly to the "other lord," as a thing well known in all its bearings. But not a soul but Macbeth, and the Three Murderers themselves, could possibly have known anything about it ! As for Banquo, "Safe in a ditch he bides,"—and Fleance had fled. The body may, perhaps in a few days, be found, and, though "with twenty trenched gashes on its head," identified as Banquo's, and, in a few weeks, Fleance may turn up in Wales. Nay, the Three Murderers may confess. But now all is hush ; and Lenox, unless endowed with second sight, or clairvoyance, could know nothing of the murder. Yet, from his way of speaking of it, one might imagine crowner's 'quest had sitten on the body—and the report been in the *Times* between supper and that after-supper confab ! I am overthrown—everted—subverted—the contradiction is flagrant—the impossibility monstrous. The "other Lord" seems as warlock-wise as Lenox—for he looks forward to times when

" we may again
Give to our tables meat, sleep to our nights ;
Free from our feasts and banquets bloody knives."

An allusion, beyond doubt, to the murder of Banquo ! A sudden thought strikes me. Why, not only must the real, actual, spiritual, corporeal Ghost of Banquo *sate on the stool*, but "Lenox and the other Lord," as well as Macbeth, *saw him*. One word more with you. Lenox tells the "other Lord"

" From broad words, and 'cause he fail'd
His presence at the tyrant's feast, I hear,
MACDUFF LIVES IN DISGRACE ; SIR, CAN YOU TELL
WHERE HE BESTOWS HIMSELF ? "

And the "other Lord," who is wonderfully well informed for a person "strictly anonymous," replies that Macduff—

"Is gone to pray the holy king, (Edward) on his aid
To wake Northumberland, and warlike Siward."

Nay, he minutely describes Macduff's surly reception of the King's messenger, sent to invite him to the Banquet, and the happy style of that official on getting the Thane of Fife's "absolute, Sir, not I," and D. I. O.! And the same nameless "Lord in waiting" says to Lenox, that

*"this report
Hath so exasperate the king, that he
Prepares for some attempt of war."*

I should like to know first where and when these two gifted individuals picked up all this information? The king himself had told the Queen, that same night, that he had *not sent* to Macduff—but that he had heard "by the way" that he was not coming to the Banquet—and he only *learns* the flight of Macduff after the Cauldron Scene—that is, at end of it:—

"Macbeth. Come in, without there!"

Enter LENOX.

Lenox. What's your Grace's will?

Macbeth. Saw you the Weird Sisters?

Lenox. No, indeed, my Lord.

Macbeth. Infected be the air whereon they ride;
And damn'd all those that trust them!—I did hear
The galloping of horse: Who was't came by?

Lenox. 'Tis two or three, my Lord, that bring you word,
MACDUFF IS FLED TO ENGLAND.

Macbeth. FLED TO ENGLAND?"

For an Usurper and Tyrant, his Majesty is singularly ill-informed about the movements of his most dangerous Thanes! But Lenox, I think, must have been not a little surprised at that moment to find that, so far from the *exasperated* Tyrant having "*prepared for some attempt of war*" with England—he had not till then positively known that Macduff had fled! I pause, as a man pauses who has no more to say—not for a reply. * * * *

The whole Dialogue between Lenox and the Lord is *miraculous*. It abounds with knowledge of events that had not happened—and could not have happened—on the showing of Shakspere himself; but I do not believe that there is another man now alive who knows

that Lenox and the "other Lord" are caught up and strangled in that *noose of Time*. Did the Poet? You would think, from the way they go on, that one ground of war, one motive of Macduff's going, is the murder of Banquo—perpetrated since he is gone off!

Gentlemen, I have given you a specimen or two of Shakspere's way of dealing with Time. * * * To go to work with such inquiries is to try to articulate thunder. * * * Stamped and staring upon the front of these Tragedies is a conflict. He, the Poet, beholds Life—he, the Poet, is on the Stage. The littleness of the Globe Theatre mixes with the greatness of human affairs. You think of the Green-room and the Scene-shifters.¹ I think that when we have stripped away the disguises and incumbrances of the Power, we shall see, naked, and strong, and beautiful, the statue moulded by Jupiter.

SCENE II.

NORTH.

NOW FOR THE GRAND INQUIRY.

How long, think you, was Othello Governor of Cyprus, and Desdemona the General's wife?

T. Tents pitched on the 14th May 1849—This is the 24th of June Ditto. You, like Michael Cassio, are "a great arithmetician"—and can calculate the Days.

N. That's precise. Let's have some small attempt at precision with respect to the time at Cyprus.

T. Well then—a Month—Two MONTHS.

N. JUST TWO DAYS. Act II.—Scene I. A Sea-port Town in Cyprus—not Nicosia, the capital of the Island, which is inland—thirty miles from the Sea—but Famagusta. The sea-beach—town—

¹ We learn from *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, p. 6, that in the age of Shakspere there were no scenes to shift. The chief speaker in the Dialogue says, "It is an argument of the worth of the Plays and Actors of the last Age, and easily inferr'd, that they were much beyond ours in this, to consider that they cou'd support themselves merely from their own Merit; the weight of the Matter, and goodness of the Action, without Scenes and Machines." Scenes were first introduced in Masques. The year 1636 is the date of their introduction into the ordinary drama.—ED.

fortifications—all crowded with people on the gaze-out—for hours. For ships on the stormy sea. But not a ship to be seen. Obedient to the passion of the people, one ship after another appears in the offing—salutes and is saluted—is within the Bay—inside the Breakwater—drops anchor—the divine Desdemona has landed—Othello has her in his arms—

“O my soul's joy !
If after every tempest comes such calms,
May the winds blow till they have waken'd death !
And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas
Olympus-high ; and duck again as low
As hell's from heaven !”

all *in five minutes*—in three minutes—in one minute—in no time—in less than no time. Scene II.—A Street—On the day of Othello's arrival—the Proclamation is issued “that there is full liberty of feast-ing for this present hour of *Five*, till the bell has told *Eleven*”—for besides the mere perdition of the Turkish Fleet, it is the “celebration of *his nuptials*. ”

S. His nuptials ! Why, I thought he had been married at Venice !

N. Who cares what you think ? Scene III.—a Hall in the Castle—and enter Othello, Desdemona, Cassio, and attendants. Othello says—

“Good Michael, look you to the guard to-night :
Let's teach ourselves that honourable stop,
Not to outsport discretion.”

And before retiring for the night with Desdemona, he says—

“Michael, good night : *To-morrow, with our earliest,*
Let me have speech with you.”

T. Why lay you such emphasis on these unimportant words ?

N. They are not unimportant. Then comes the Night Brawl—as schemed by Iago. Othello, on the spot, cashiers Cassio—and at that very moment, Desdemona entering disturbed, with attendants, he says—

“Look if my gentle love is not rais'd up.—
Come, Desdemona ; 'tis the soldiers' life,
To have their balmy slumbers wak'd with strife.”

Iago advises the unfortunate Cassio to "confess himself freely" to Desdemona—who will help to put him in his place again—and Cassio replies—"betimes in the morning I will beseech the virtuous Desdemona to undertake for me : I am desperate of my fortunes, if they check me here ;"—and the Scene concludes with these words of Iago's—

" Two things are to be done,—
My wife must move for Cassio to her mistress ;
I'll set her on ;
Myself, the while, to draw the Moor apart,
And bring him jump when he may Cassio find
Soliciting his wife ; Ay, that's the way ;
Dull not device by coldness and delay."

"By the mass, 'tis morning," quoth Iago—and Act II. closes with the dawn of the Second Day at Cyprus.

Now for Act III. It opens before the Castle—as the *same morning* is pretty well advanced—and Cassio is ordering some Musicians to play "Good-morrow, General." Cassio says to the Clown, who is with the Musicians, "There's a poor piece of gold for thee: if the Gentlewoman that attends the General's wife be stirring, tell her, there's one Cassio entreats her a little favour of speech ;"—and as the Clown goes off, Iago enters—and says to Cassio—

" You have not been a-bed, then ? "

And Cassio answers—

" Why, no ; the day had broke
Before we parted. I have made bold, Iago,
To send in to your wife. My suit to her
Is, that she will to virtuous Desdemona
Procure me some access.

Iago. I'll send her to you presently ;
And I'll devise a mean to draw the Moor
Out of the way, that your converse and business
May be more free."

Emilia then enters, and tells Cassio that all will soon be well—"the General and his Wife are talking of it—and she speaks for you stoutly."—

T. All this does not positively imply that the preceding night was the night of the Brawl. Cassio, though originally intending it,

on reflection may have thought it too precipitate to apply to Desdemona the very next day ; and there is nothing improbable in his having been with Iago till daybreak on some subsequent night. It is not quite clear, then, that the Third Act commences on the morning after Cassio's dismissal.

N. It is not quite clear ! I say 'tis clear as mud or amber. Iago has with such hellish haste conceived and executed his machinations, that Cassio has been cashiered some few hours after landing in Cyprus. In the pride of success, he urges on Cassio to apply without delay to Desdemona in the morning. We see the demi-devil determined to destroy—"By the mass, 'tis morning—pleasure and action make the hours seem short." Iago may have gone to bed for a few hours—Cassio had not—"You have not been a-bed, then."—"Why, no ; the day had broke before we parted." The Time of the end of Second Act, and of the beginning of Third Act, are thus connected as firmly as words and deeds can connect. You say there is nothing improbable in Cassio's having been with Iago till daybreak on some subsequent night ! Why, who the devil cares to know that Cassio had not been to bed on some other night ? His not having been to bed on *this* night is an indication of *his* anxiety, and Iago's question is a manifestation of *his* malevolence cloaked with an appearance of concern. In each case an appropriate trait of character is brought before us ; but the main purpose of the words is to fix the time, which they do without the possibility of a doubt. They *demonstrate* that the Third Act opens on the morning immediately subsequent to the night on which Act Second closes. This morning dovetails into that night with an exactness which nothing could improve. The Third Act, then, you allow, opens on the morning of the day following the night on which the Second Act closes ? In this same scene, First of Act Third, Cassio says to Emilia,

" Yet, I beseech you,
If you think fit, or that it may be done,
Give me advantage of some brief discourse
With Desdemona alone."

And Emilia says to him,

" Pray you, come in ;

*I will bestow you where you shall have time
To speak your bosom freely.
Cassio. I am much bound to you."*

And off they go to sue to the gentle Desdemona. Then follows Scene II. of Act III.—a very short one—let me read it aloud.

"A Room in the Castle.

Enter OTHELLO, IAGO, and Gentlemen.

Othello. These letters give, Iago, to the pilot ;
And, by him, do my duties to the State ;
That done, I will be walking on the works ;
Repair there to me.

Iago. Well, my good Lord, I'll do't.

Othello. This fortification, gentlemen,—shall we see't ?

Gent. We'll wait upon your lordship. [Exit.]

That this Scene is on the same day as Scene Second—and with little intermission of time—is too plain to require proof. Othello here sends off his first dispatches to Venice by the pilot who had brought him safely to Cyprus, and then goes out to inspect the fortification. That is in the natural course of things—such a scene at any subsequent time would be altogether without meaning.

T. I cannot see that, sir. Have the goodness, my dear sir, to pause a moment—and go back to the close of the Scene preceding this short one. Then and there, Cassio, as we saw, goes into the Castle with Emilia, "*to be bestowed*" that he may have an opportunity of asking Desdemona to intercede for him with Othello. But "*to be bestowed*" may mean to have apartments there—and he may have been living in the Castle for several days, with or without Othello's knowledge, before that short Scene which you have just now quoted.

N. Living in the Castle for several days ! With or without Othello's knowledge ! Prodigious ! All that Cassio asked was, "the advantage of some *brief discourse* ;" and, that he might have that advantage, Emilia gave him apartments in the Castle ! And there we may suppose him living at rack and manger, lying *perdu* in the Governor's House ! Emilia was a queer customer enough, but she could hardly have taken upon herself the responsibility of secreting a man under the same roof with Desdemona, without the sanction

of her Mistress—and if with her sanction, what must we think of the “gentle Lady married to the Moor?” Talboys, you are quizzing the old Gentleman.

T. I give it up.

N. The short Scene I quoted, then, *immediately* follows the preceding—in time; and that short Scene is manifestly introduced by Shakspere, merely to get Othello out on the ramparts with Iago, *that* Iago may bring the Moor “plump on Cassio soliciting his wife.” Scene Third of Act III., accordingly, shows us Desdemona, Cassio, and Emilia before the Castle—and while Cassio is “soliciting his wife”—“enter Othello and Iago at a distance.”

<i>“Emilia.</i> My Lord. <i>Cassio.</i> <i>Desdemona.</i> And hear me speak. <i>Cassio.</i> Unfit for mine own purposes. <i>Desdemona.</i>	Madam, here comes Madam, I'll take my leave. Why stay, Well—well— Do your discretion.
	[Exit CASSIO.]

Down to this exit of Cassio, we are on the morning or forenoon of the Second Day at Cyprus. Every word said proves we are. Cassio's parting words prove it. “Madam, *not now*—I'm very ill at ease—unfit for my own purposes.” He had been up all night—had been drunk—cashiered. He sees Othello coming—his heart sinks—and he retreats in shame and fear—“unfit for his own purposes.”

N. In Scene First of Act III., Emilia tells Cassio that she will do a particular thing—do it of course—*quam primum*—as a thing that requires no delay, and demands haste—and in Scene III. she appears having done it. In Scene First she tells Cassio that she will bring him to speak with Desdemona about his replacement—and in Scene Third, before the Castle, we find that she has done this. The opportunity came immediately—it was made to her hand—all that was necessary was that Othello should not be present—and he was not present. He had gone out on business. Now was just the nick of time for Cassio to bespeak Desdemona's intercession, and now was

just the nick of time on which that intercession was by him be-spoken. Nothing could be more nicely critical or opportune.

T. Between us, sir, we have tied down Scene III. of Act Third to the Forenoon of the Second Day at Cyprus.

N. We have tied down Shakspere thus far to SHORT TIME AT CYPRUS—and to Short Time we shall tie him down till the Catastrophe. OTHELLO MURDERED DESDEMONA THAT VERY NIGHT.

T. No—no—no. Impossible.

N. Inevitably—and of a dead certainty. Why, you Owl! we have just seen Cassio slink away—all is plain sailing now—Talboys—for Iago by four words seals her doom.

"Ha! I like not that!"

Othello. What dost thou say?

Iago. Nothing, my lord: or if—I know not what.

Othello. Was not that Cassio parted from my wife?

Iago. Cassio, my Lord? No, sure; I cannot think it, That he would steal away *so guilty-like*
Seeing you coming."

Mark what follows—there is not a moment of intermission in the Action down to end of this Scene Third of Act Third, which you well call the Scene of Scenes, by which time Othello has been convinced of Desdemona's guilt, and has resolved on her Death and Cassio's.

T. Not a moment of intermission! Let's look to it—if it indeed be so—

N. See—hear Desdemona pleading for Cassio—see, hear Othello saying—"Not now, sweet Desdemona;" and then again—"Prythee, no more: let him come when he will—I will deny thee nothing." And again—

*"I will deny thee nothing;
Whereon, I do beseech thee, grant me this,
To leave me but a little to myself."*

Des. Shall I deny you? no: Farewell, my lord.

[*Exit with Emilia.*"]

Turn over leaf after leaf—without allowing yourself to read that dreadful colloquy between the Victim and his Destroyer—but letting it glimmer luridly by—till Desdemona comes back—and Othello, under the power of the Angel Innocence, exclaims—

"If she be false, O, then heaven mocks itself!—
I'll not believe it."

T. I behold her! I hear her voice—"gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman."

"Why is your speech so faint? are you not well?
Oth. I have a pain upon my forehead here."

She drops that fatal handkerchief—

"I am very sorry that you are not well."

What touching words! They go out together—ignorant she that her husband hath heartache, worse than any headache—

N. Both to be effectually cured *that night* by—bleeding.

T. A sudden thought strikes me, sir. Desdemona has said to Othello—

"Your dinner, and the generous Islanders
By you invited, do attend your presence."

How's this? This looks like long time—

N. It may look like what it chooses—but we have *proved* that we are now on the forenoon of the Second Day at Cyprus.

T. Would it not have been treating them too unceremoniously to have sent round the cards of invitation only the night before? As far as I have been able to learn, they have long been in the habit of giving not less than a week's invitation to dinner at Cyprus. In Glasgow it is commonly three weeks. And why "*generous?*" Because they, the Islanders, have given a series of splendid entertainments to Othello and his Bride.

N. No nonsense, sir. Othello had done what you or I would have done, had either of us been Governor of Cyprus. He had invited the "generous Islanders," immediately on his landing, to dine at the Castle "next day." Had he not done so, he had been a hunk. "Generous," you know, as well as I do, means high-born—men of birth—not generous of entertainments.

T. True, too. But how comes it to be the dinner hour?

N. People dined in those days, all England over, about eleven A.M.—probably they dined still earlier in the unfashionable region of Cyprus. You are still hankering after the heresy of long time—but

no more of that *now*—let us keep to our demonstration of short time—by-and-by you shall see the Gentleman with the Scythe—the Scythian at full swing—as long as yourself.

Othello and Desdemona have just gone out—to do the honours at the Dinner Table to the generous Islanders. He must have been a strange Chairman—for though not yet absolutely mad, his soul was sorely changed. Perhaps he made some apology, and was not at that Dinner at all—perhaps it was never eaten—but we lose sight of him for a little while; and Emilia, who remains behind, picks up the fatal handkerchief, and, with a strange wilfulness, or worse, says—

“I'll have the work ta'en out.
And give't Iago.”

Iago snatches it from her—and in soliloquy says—

“I will in Cassio's lodgings lose this napkin,
And let him find it.”

“This may do something,—
The Moor already changes with the poison :
Dangerous conceits are, in their natures, poisons,
Which at the first, are scarce found to distaste ;
But, with a little, act upon the blood,
Burn like the mines of sulphur.—I did say so :—

Enter OTHELLO.

Look ! where he comes ! Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
Shall ever medicine *thee to that sweet sleep*
Which thou ow'dst yesterday.”

Then follows, without break, all the rest of this dreadful Third Scene. The first dose of the poison—the second, and third, and fourth—are all given on one and the same day. The mineral has gnawed through all the coats of the stomach—and *He has sworn to murder Her*—all in one day. We have Iago's word for it. *Yesterday* his sleep was sweet—how happy he was *then* we can imagine—how miserable he is *now* we see—“what a difference to *him*,” and *in him*, between Saturday and Sunday !

“O, blood ! Iago, blood !
* * *
Now by yond' marble heaven,

In the due reverence of a sacred vow,
I here engage my words.

Iago. Do not rise yet. [Kneels.

Witness, you ever-burning lights above !

You elements, that clip us round about !

Witness, that here Iago doth give up,
The execution of his wit, hands, heart,
To wrong'd Othello's service ! Let him command,
And to obey shall be in me remorse,
What bloody work soever."

T. Thou Great original Short-Timeist ! Unanswerable art Thou.
But let us look at the close of this dreadful Third Act.

"*Othello.* I greet thy love,
Not with vain thanks, but with acceptance bounteous,
And will upon the instant put thee to't :
Within *these three days* let me hear thee say,
That Cassio's not alive.

Iago. My friend is dead ; 'tis done at your request :
But let *her* live.

Othello. Damn her, lewd minx ! O, damn her !
Come, go with me apart ; I will withdraw,
To furnish me with some swift means of death
To the fair devil. Now art thou my lieutenant.

Iago. I am your own for ever."

In three days—at the longest—for Cassio ;—but Iago understood, and did it that very night. And swift means of death for the fair devil were in Othello's own *hands*—ay—he smothered her that night to a dead certainty—a dead certainty at last—though his hands seem to have faltered.

N. In the next Scene—Scene IV.—we find Desdemona anxious about the loss of the handkerchief, but still totally unapprehensive of the Moor's jealousy—

"Who—he ? I think the sun, where he was born,
Drew all such humours from him."

Othello enters, saying, "Well, my good Lady,"—and mutters aside, "Oh ! hardness to dissemble"—and very ill he does dissemble, for he leaves Desdemona and Emilia amazed at his mad deportment, the latter exclaiming—"Is not this man jealous?" Iago had told Othello of Cassio's possessing the handkerchief in the previous Scene, and Othello takes the first opportunity, *that same afternoon*, to

ascertain for himself whether she had parted with it. Would he have let an hour elapse before making the inquiry? Can it be for a moment imagined that he passed days and nights with Desdemona without attempting to sound her regarding this most pregnant proof of her guilt? This Scene concludes the Third Act—and the time is not long after dinner.

T. All this being proved, it is unnecessary to scrutinise the consecution of the Scenes of Acts Fourth and Fifth—Iago's work is done—one day has sufficed—and what folly to bring in long time after this—when his presence would have been unsupportable—had it not been impossible. Death must follow doom.

N. Death must follow doom. In these four words you have settled the question of time. Long time seemed necessary to change Othello into a murderer—and all the world but you and I believe that long time there was; but you and I know better—and have demonstrated short time—for at the end of the “dreadful Third Act” Othello is a murderer—and what matters it now when he really seized the pillow to smother her, or unsheathed the knife?

T. It matters not a jot. But he did the deed that same night—or he had not been Othello.

N. There again—or he “had not been Othello.” In these four words you have settled the question of time—now and for ever.

T. It would be a waste of words, sir, to seek to prove by the consecution of the Scenes in Acts Fourth and Fifth—though nothing could be easier—that he did murder her that very night.

N. Very few will suffice. Act IV. begins a little before supper-time. Bianca enters in Scene I. inviting Cassio to supper—“An you'll come to supper to-night, you may.” If anything were wanting to connect the closing Scene of Act III. with this opening Scene of Act IV. it is fully supplied by Bianca, who at the end of Act III. gets the handkerchief, in order that she may copy it, and in the scene of this Fourth Act, comes back in a fury. “Let the devil and his dam haunt you—what did you mean by that same handkerchief you gave me even now? I was a fine fool to take it.” Cassio had given it to her a little after dinner, and Bianca, inviting him to supper, says he had given it to her EVEN NOW. This Scene I. of Act IV. ends

with Othello's invitation to the newly arrived Lodovico—"I do entreat that we may sup together." Scene II. comprehends the interview between Othello and Emilia ; Othello and Desdemona—Desdemona, Emilia and Iago. The whole do not occupy an hour of time —they follow one another naturally, and the action is continuous. Scene III. shows Lodovico and the Noble Venetians still at the Castle—but now it is *after supper*. Lodovico is departing—

"I do beseech you, sir, trouble yourself no farther.

Othello. O pardon me; 'twill do me good to walk.
O Desdemona !

Desdemona.

My Lord ?

Othello. Get you to bed on the instant, I will be returned forthwith."

Desdemona obeys—the bed-scene follows—and *she is murdered*.

Verdict : DESDEMONA MURDERED BY OTHELLO ON THE SECOND NIGHT IN CYPRUS.

SCENE III.

N. Having demonstrated SHORT TIME AT CYPRUS, let us now, if it pleases you, gentlemen, show forth LONG TIME AT CYPRUS.

As in our demonstration of Short Time at Cyprus, we, purposely and determinedly, and wisely kept Long Time out of sight, on account of the inextricable perplexity and confusion that would otherwise have involved the argument, so now let us, in showing forth Long Time at Cyprus, keep out of sight Short—and then shall we finally have before our ken Two TIMES at Cyprus, each firmly established on its own ground—and imperiously demanding of the Critics of this great Tragedy—Reconcilement. Reconcilement it may be beyond their power to give—but let them first see the GREAT FACT which not one of the whole set have seen—HAND IN HAND ONE DAY AND UNASSIGNED WEEKS ! The condition is altogether anomalous—

T. A DAY OF THE CALENDAR, AND A MONTH OF THE CALENDAR ! No human soul ever dreams of the dreadful sayings and doings all coming off IN A DAY ! till he looks—till he is made to look—as we have made Seward and Buller to look—for they heard every word we said—and finds himself nailed by Act and Scene.

N. To some FIFTEEN HOURS.

N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1876.

B. I thought you were going to show forth Long Time at Cyprus.

N. Why, there it is, staring you in the face everywhere—

T. Long Time cunningly insinuates itself, serpentwise, throughout Desdemona's first recorded conversation with Cassio, at the beginning of Scene III., Act III.—the “Dreadful Scene.” Thus—

“Assure thee,
If I do vow a friendship, I'll perform it
To the last article : my lord shall never rest ;
I'll watch him tame, and talk him out of patience ;
His bed shall seem a school, his board a shrift ;
I'll intermingle everything he does
With Cassio's suit : Therefore be merry, Cassio ;
For thy solicitor shall rather die
Than give thy cause away.”

This points to a protracted time in the future—and though announcing an intention merely, yet somehow it leaves an impression that Desdemona carries her intention into effect—that she does “watch him tame,” does make his “bed seem a school”—does “intermingle everything she does with Cassio's suit.” The passage recurred to my mind, I recollect, when you first hinted to me the question of time ; and no doubt it tells so on the minds of many—

Then Desdemona says—

“How now, my lord ?
I have been talking with a suitor here,
A man that languishes in your displeasure.”

I cannot listen to that line, even now, without a feeling of the heart-sickness of protracted time—“hope deferred maketh the heart sick”—*languishes !* even unto death. I think of that fine line in Wordsworth—

“So fades—*so languishes*—grows dim, and dies.”

Far on in this Scene, Othello says to Iago—

“If more thou dost perceive, let me know more :
Set on thy wife to observe.”

Iago has not said that he had perceived anything, but Othello, greatly disturbed, speaks as if Iago had said that he had perceived a good deal ; and we might believe that they had been a long time at Cyprus. Othello then says—

"This honest creature, doubtless,
Sees and knows more, much more, than he unfolds."

In all this, sir, we surely have a feeling of longish time.

"O curse of marriage!
That we can call those delicate creatures ours—
And not their appetites."

This is the language of a some-time married man—not of a man the morning after his nuptials.

N. The Handkerchief.

T. Ay—Emilia's words.

"I am glad I have found this napkin;
This was her first remembrance from the Moor—
My wayward husband hath a hundred times
Woo'd me to steal it; but she so loves the token,
(For he conjur'd her, she would ever keep it,)
That she reserves it evermore about her,
To kiss, and talk to."

Here we have long time, and no mistake. Iago has wooed her to steal it a hundred times ! When and where ? Since their arrival at Cyprus.

S. I don't know that.

T. Nor do I. But I say the words naturally give us the impression of long time. In none of his soliloquies at Venice, or at Cyprus on their first arrival, has Iago once mentioned that Handkerchief as the chief instrument of his wicked design—and therefore Emilia's words imply weeks at Cyprus,—

"What will you give me now
For that same handkerchief?

Iago. What handkerchief?
Emilia. Why, that the Moor first gave to Desdemona
That which so often you did bid me steal."

N. Go on.

T. "What sense had I of her stolen hours of lust?
I saw it not—thought it not—it harm'd not me—
I slept the next night well—was free and merry;
I found not Cassio's kisses on her lips."

Next night—night after night—many nights—many *wedded* nights
—long time at Cyprus.

N. And then Cassio's dream.

T. "I lay with Cassio—*lately*." Where, but at Cyprus ? "Cursed fate ! that *gave thee to the Moor*." And on Othello going off in a rage about the handkerchief—what saith Desdemona ?—

"I ne'er saw this before."

These few words are full charged with long time.

N. They are. And Emilia's—"Tis not a year or two shows us a man." True, that is a kind of general reflection—but a most foolish general reflection indeed, if made to a Wife weeping at her husband's harshness the day after marriage.

T. Emilia's "year or two" cannot mean one day—it implies weeks—or months. Desdemona then says,—

"Something, sure, of state,
Either from Venice, or some unhatch'd practice," &c.

Does not *that* look like long time at Cyprus ? Unlike the language of one who had herself arrived at Cyprus from Venice but the day before. And in continuation, Desdemona's

"Nay, we must think, men are not gods ;
Nor of them look for such observances
As fit the bridal."

And that thought brings sudden comfort to poor Desdemona, who says sweetly—

"Beshrew me much, Emilia,
I was (unhandsome warrior as I am,)
Arraigning his unkindness with my soul ;
But now, I find, I had suborn'd the witness,
And he's indited falsely."

That is—why did I, a married woman some months old, forget that the honeymoon is gone, and that my Othello, hero as he is, is now—not a Bridegroom—but a husband ? "Men are not gods."

N. And Bianca ? She's a puzzler.

T. A puzzler, and something more.

"*Bianca.* Save you, friend Cassio !
Cassio. What make you from home ?
How is it with you, my most fair Bianca ?
I'faith, sweet love, I was coming to your house.
Bianca. And I was going to your lodging, Cassio.

What ! keep a week away ? seven days and nights ?
 Eight score eight hours ? And lovers' absent hours,
 More tedious than the dial eight score times ?
 O weary reckoning !

Cassio. Pardon me, Bianca ;
 I have this while with leaden thoughts been press'd ;
 But I shall, in a more continuatue time,
 Strike off the score of absence."

Here the reproaches of Bianca to Cassio develop long time. For, besides his week's absence from her house, there is implied the preceding time necessary for contracting and habitually carrying on the illicit attachment. Bianca is a Cyprus householder ; Cassio sups at her house ; his intimacy, which has various expressions of continuance, has been formed with her there ; he has found her, and grown acquainted with her there, not at Venice. I know it has been suggested that she was his mistress at Venice—that she came with the squadron from Venice ; and that her last cohabitation with Cassio had taken place in Venice about a week ago—but for believing this there is here not the slightest ground. “ What ! keep a week away ? ” would be a strange exclamation, indeed, from one who knew that he had been but a day on shore—had landed along with herself yesterday from the same ship—and had been a week cooped up from her in a separate berth. And Bianca, seeing the handkerchief, and being told to “ take me this work out,” cries—

“ O Cassio ! whence came this ?
 This is some token from a newer friend.
To the felt absence now I feel a cause.”

“ To the felt absence,” Eight score eight hours ! the cause ? Some new mistress at Cyprus—not forced separation at sea.

N. Then, Talboys, in Act IV., Scene I., Othello is listening to the conversation of Iago and Cassio, which he believes relates to his wife. Iago says—

“ She gives it out that you shall marry her ;
 Do you intend it ?

Cassio. Ha ! ha ! ha !

Othello. Do you triumph, Roman ? Do you triumph ?

Iago. Faith ! the cry goes, *that you shall marry her.*

Cassio. Pr'ythee, say true.

Iago. I am a very villain else.

Othello. Have you SCORED ME? Well."

That is, have you marked me for destruction, in order that you may marry my wife? Othello believes that Cassio is said to entertain an intention of marrying Desdemona, and infers that, as a preliminary, he must be put out of the way. This on the first day after marriage? No, surely—long time at Cyprus.

T. Iago says to Cassio,

" My Lord is fallen into an epilepsy :

This is his second fit : *he had one yesterday.*

Cassio. Rub him about the temples.

Iago. No, forbear ;

The lethargy must have his quiet course :

If not, he foams at mouth ; and, by-and-by,
Breaks out to savage madness."

This is a lie—but Cassio believes it. Cassio could not have believed it, and therefore Iago would not have told it, had "yesterday" been the day of the triumphant, joyful, and happy arrival at Cyprus. Assuredly, Cassio knew that Othello had had no fit *that* day ; that day he was Othello's lieutenant—Iago but his Ancient—and Iago could know nothing of any fits that Cassio knew not of—therefore—Long Time.

N. " For I will make him tell the tale anew,
Where, how, how oft, how long ago, and when,
He hath—and is again to—"

He does so—and Othello believes what he hears Cassio tell of Bianca to be of Desdemona. Madness any way we take it—but madness possible only—on long time at Cyprus.

T. Then, sir, the trumpet announcing the arrival of Lodovico from Venice, at the close of Iago's and Othello's murderous colloquy, and Lodovico giving Othello a packet containing—his recall !

" They do command him home,
Deputing Cassio in his government."

What are we to make of that?

N. The Recall, except after considerable time, would make the policy of the Senate frivolous—a thing Shakspere never does, for the greatness of political movements lies everywhere for a support to the

strength and power of his tragical fable. Half that we know of Othello out of the Scenes is, that he is the trusted General of the Senate. What gravity his esteem with you derives hence, and can we bear to think of him superseded without cause? Had Lodovico, who brings the new commission, set off the day after Othello from Venice? No. You imagine an intercourse, which has required time, between Othello, since his appointment, and the Senate. Why, in all the world, do they thus suddenly depose him, and put Cassio in his place? You cannot well think that the very next measure of the Senate, after entrusting the command of Cyprus, their principal Island, to their most tried General, in most perilous and critical times, was to displace him ere they hear a word from him. They have not had time to know that the Turkish Fleet is wrecked and scattered, unless they sit behind Scenes in the Green-room.

T. We must conclude that the Senate must give weeks or months to this New Governor ere interfering with him.—To recall him before they know he has reached Cyprus—nay, to send a ship after him next day—or a day or two following his departure—would make these “most potent, grave, and reverend Signors,” enigmas, and the Doge an Idiot. What though a steamer had brought tidings back to Venice that the Turks had been “banged” and “drowned?” That was not a sufficient reason to order Othello back before he could have well set his foot on shore, or taken more than a look at the state of the fortifications, in case the Ottoman should fit out another fleet.

N. Then mark Lodovico's language. He asks, seeing Othello strike his wife—as well he may—“Is it his use?” Or did the letters “work upon his blood, and new-create this fault?” And Iago answers, “It is not honesty in me to speak *what I have seen and known.*” Lodovico says, “The noble Moor, whom our Senate call all in all sufficient.” Then they have not quarrelled with him, at least—nor lost their good opinion of him! Iago answers, “He is much changed?” What, in a day? And again—“It is not honesty in me to speak what I have seen and known.” What, in a day? Lodovico comes evidently to Othello after a long separation—such as affords room for a moral transformation; and Iago's words—lies

as they are—and seen to be lies by the most unthinking person—yet refer to much that has passed in an ample time—to a continued course of procedure.

T.¹ But in all the Play, nothing is so conclusive of long time as the Second Scene of the Third Act.

“*Othello*. You have seen nothing, then?

Emilia. Nor ever heard; nor ever did suspect.

Othello. Yes, you have seen Cassio and she together.

Emilia. But then I saw no harm; and then I heard
Each syllable, that breath made up between them.

Othello. What, did they never whisper?

Emilia. Never, my Lord.

Othello. Nor send you out o' the way?

Emilia. Never.

Othello. To fetch her fan, her gloves, her mask, nor nothing?

Emilia. Never, my Lord.

Othello. That's strange.”

If all this relates to their residence at Cyprus, it indicates many weeks.

N. Then a word about Emilia. “I pr'ythee, let thy wife attend on her,” says Othello, going on board at Venice, to Iago. In the slight way in which such arrangements can be touched, this request is conclusive evidence to Emilia's being then *first* placed about Desdemona's person. It has no sense else; nor is there the slightest ground for supposing a prior acquaintance, at least intimacy. What had an Ensign's wife to do with a Nobleman's daughter? and now she is attached as an Attendant. Now, consider, first, Emilia's character. She seems not very principled, not very chaste. She gives you the notion of a tolerably well-practised Venetian Wife. Hear Iago's opinion, who suspects her with two persons, and one on general rumour. Yet how strong her affection for Desdemona, and her faith in her purity! She witnesses for her, and she dies for her! I ask, how long did that affection and that opinion take to grow? a few days at Venice, and a week while they were sea-sick aboard ship? No. Weeks—months. A gentle lady once made to me that fine remark,—“Emilia has not much worth in herself, but is raised into worth by her contact with Desdemona—into heroic

¹ Assigned to North in *Blackwood* by mistake.—ED.

worth!" "I care not for thy sword—I'll make thee known, though I lost twenty lives." And that bodeful "Perchance, Iago, I will ne'er go home"! what does it mean? but a dim surmise, or a clear, that what she will disclose will bring the death upon her from his dagger, which it brings. The impure dying a voluntary martyr for the pure is to the highest degree affecting—is the very manner of Shakspere, to express a principal character by its influence on subordinate ones—has its own moral sublimity; but more than all, for our purpose, it witnesses time. Love, and Faith, and Fidelity, won from her in whom these virtues are to be first created! Othello, in his wrath, calls Emilia "a closet-lock-and-key of villainous secrets: and yet she'll kneel and pray; I have seen her do't." Where and when? It could only have been at Cyprus; and such language denotes a somewhat long attendance there on Desdemona. "Some of your function, mistress," renewed to Emilia — when, after conversing with Desdemona, Othello is going out—is his treatment of one whom he supposes to have been serviceable to his wife's and Cassio's amour. Where? There, only there, in Cyprus, by all witnessing, palpably. *She* could not before. He speaks to her as *professional* in such services, therefore long dealing in them; but this all respects this one intrigue, not her previous life. The wicked energy of the forced attribution vanishes, if this respects anything but her helpfulness to his wife and her paramour, and at Cyprus—there—only there. Nothing points to a farther back looking suspicion. Iago's "thousand times committed" can only lengthen out the stay at Cyprus. Othello still believes that she once loved him—that she has fallen to corruption. Could he have the most horrible, revolting, and loathsome of all thoughts, that he wedded her impure? and not a hint given of that most atrocious pang? Incredible—impossible! I can never believe, if Shakspere intended an infidelity taking precedencey of the marriage, that he would not by word or by hint have said so. Think how momentous to our intelligence of the jealousy the *date* is; not as to Tuesday or Wednesday, but as to before or after the nuptial knot—before or after the first religious loosing of the virgin zone. That a man's wife has turned into a wanton—hell and horror! But that he wedded one—Pah! Faugh! Could Iago,

could Othello, could Shakspere have left *this* point in the chronology of guilt to be argued out doubtfully? No. The greatest of Poets for pit, boxes, and gallery, must have written intelligibly to pit, boxes, and gallery¹; and extrication, unveiled, after two hundred and fifty years, by studious men, in a fit of perplexity, cannot be the thunderbolt which Shakspere flung to his audience at the Globe Theatre.

T. You remember poor, dear, sweet Mrs Henry Siddons—*the Desdemona*—how she gave utterance to those words

“ It was his bidding—therefore, good Emilia,
Give me my nightly wearing, and adieu ;
We must not now displease him.

Emilia. I would you had never seen him !

Desdemona. So would not I ; my love doth so approve him,
That even his stubbornness, his checks, and frowns,—
Pr'ythee, unpin me,—have grace and favour in them.

Emilia. I have laid those sheets you bade me on the bed.

Desdemona. All's one : Good father! how foolish are our
minds !

If I do die before thee—pr'ythee shroud me
In one of those same sheets.”

The wedding sheets were *reserved*. They had been laid by for weeks—months—time long enough to give a saddest character to the bringing them out again—a serious, ominous meaning—disturbed from the quietude, the sanctity of their sleep by a wife's mortal presentiment that they may be her shroud.

N. Long time established at Cyprus.

Verdict—DESDEMONA MURDERED BY OTHELLO HEAVEN KNOWS WHEN.

SCENE IV.

S. To state MY THEORY : I IMAGINE, SIR, THAT SHAKSPERE ASSUMED THE MARRIAGE TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE SOME TIME BEFORE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PLAY—SUFFICIENTLY LONG TO ADMIT THE POSSI-

¹ “ Pit, boxes, and gallery ” constitutes a very ancient distinction. Every private theatre had a pit, for standing-room at a penny a head, and a two-penny gallery, where seats were provided, but not secured ; and some had also boxes or separate “ rooms,” from sixpence to half-a-crown, of which the occupants had the keys. (See Collier's *Hist. of the Stage*, 1831, vol. iii. pp. 335—353.) These occupants, or other, appear to have had the right of sitting on the stage.—ED.

BILITY OF A COURSE OF GUILT BEFORE THE PLAY OPENS. I imagine that, with this general idea in his mind, he gave his full and unfettered attention to the working out of THE PLOT, which has no reference to the time, circumstances, or history of the Marriage, but relates exclusively to the Moor's Jealousy. Therefore the indications of past time at Venice are vague, and rarely scattered through the Dialogue.

T. A more astounding discovery indeed, Seward, than any yet announced by that Stunner, Christopher North. Pardon me, sir.

S. Supposing that this was Shakspere's general idea of the Plot, I would first beg your attention to the fact that the marriage has taken place—none of us know how long—*before the beginning of the Play.*

T. The same night—the same night.

S. I said—none of us know how long. The only evidence, my dear Talboys, as to the history of the marriage is that given by Roderigo in the First Scene. He, with the most manifest anxiety to prove himself an honest witness, declares that now, at midnight, Desdemona had eloped—not *WITH the Moor*, but with no “worse nor better guard, but with a knave of common hire, a gondolier, *to,*” &c. &c. She has fled *alone* from her father's house; and Roderigo, being interrogated, “Are they married, think ye?” answers, “Truly I think they are.”

T. What do you say to Iago's saying to Cassio—

“Faith he *to-night* has boarded a land Carrack :
If it prove lawful prize, he's made for ever.

Cassio. I do not understand.

Iago. He's married.”

S. It cannot be inferred, from these words, that this was the first occasion on which Desdemona and Othello had come together as man and wife. The words are quite consistent with the supposition that their marriage had taken place some time before; also quite consistent with Iago's knowledge of that event. It was not his cue or his humour to say more than he did. Why should he?

T. It cannot be inferred! It can—I infer it. And pray, how do you account for Othello saying to Desdemona, on the day of their arrival at Cyprus,

"The purchase made—the fruits are to ensue;
That profit's yet to come 'twixt me and you."

S. "The purchase made"—refers to the price which Othello had paid for [the] connubial delight with Desdemona awaiting him at Cyprus. That price was the peril which he had undergone during his stormy voyage, in his exuberant satisfaction, simply expressing a self-evident truth, that his happiness was *yet* before him. Had Desdemona been then a virgin bride, Othello would hardly have used such language. Iago speaks in his usual characteristic coarse way—so no need to say a word more on the subject.

T. Very well. Be it so. But why should such a private marriage have been resorted to; and if privacy was desirable at first, what change had occurred to cause the public declaration of it?

S. Othello had been nine months unemployed in war—the Venetian State was at peace—and he had been in constant intercourse with the Brabantios.

"Her father lov'd me—oft invited me ;"

and he "took *once* a pliant hour" to ask Desdemona to be his wife. That "*once*" cannot refer to the day on which the Play commences; and that their marriage took place some time before, is alike reconcileable with the character of the "gentle Lady," and with that of the impetuous Hero. Still, a private marriage is, under any circumstances, a questionable proceeding; and our great Dramatist was desirous that as little of the questionable as possible should either be or appear in the conduct of the "Divine Desdemona;" and therefore he has left the private marriage very much in the shade. Her duplicity must be admitted, and allowance must be made for it. It was wrong, but not in the least unnatural, and perfectly excusable,—and grievously expiated. It is, you know, part of the proof of her capacity for guilt, that she so ingeniously deceived her father.

T. But why reveal it now?

S. Circumstances are changed. The Cyprus wars have broke out, and Othello is about to be commissioned to take the command of the Venetian force

"I do know, the State
Cannot with safety cast him, for he's embarked

With such loud reason to the Cyprus wars,
Which even now stand in act, that for their souls
Another of his fathom have they not
To lead this business."

It was therefore necessary that the marriage should be declared, if Desdemona was to accompany her husband to Cyprus. And the elopement from her father *to* her husband did take place just in time. All the difficulties of Time are thus removed in a moment. In a blaze of light we see LONG TIME AT VENICE—SHORT TIME AT CYPRUS.

N. My dear Seward, let's hear how you support your Theory.

S. A great deal of weight, my dear Mr North, is to be attached to the calm tone—the husbandlike and matronlike demeanour of Othello and Desdemona when confronted with the Senate. That scene certainly impresses one with the conviction that they had been man and wife for a considerable period of time. I do indeed think, sir, that the bride and bridegroom show much more composure throughout the whole of that Scene, than is very reconcileable with the idea that this was their nuptial night. Othello's "natural and prompt alacrity" in undertaking the wars was scarcely complimentary to his virgin Spouse upon this supposition; and Desdemona's cool distinguishings between the paternal and marital claims on her duty seem also somewhat too matronly for the occasion.

N. Very good—very good—my dear Seward, I like your observation much, that the demeanour of the married pair before the Senate has a stamp of composure. That is finely felt; but I venture to aver, my dear friend, that we must otherwise understand it. The dignity of their spirits it is that holds them both composed. Invincible self-collectedness is by more than one person in the Play held up for a characteristic quality of Othello. To a mind high and strong, which Desdemona's is, the exigency of a grand crisis, which overthrows weaker and lower minds, produces composure; from a sense of the necessity for self-possession; and involuntarily from the tension of the powers—their sole direction to the business that passes—which leaves no thought free to stray into disorder, and the inquietude of personal regards. Add, on the part of Othello, the gravity, and on that of Desdemona the awe of the Presence in which

they stand, speak, and act ; and you have ennobling and sufficing tragical, that is loftily and pathetically poetical, motives for that elate presence of mind which both show. Now all the greatness and grace vanish, if you suppose them calm simply because they have been married these two months. That is a reason fit for Thalia, not for Melpomene.

S. The Duke says—

“ You must hence to-night.
Desdemona. To-night, my Lord ?
Othello. With all my heart.”

This faint expression of Desdemona's slight surprise and reluctance, and no more—is I allow—natural and delicate in her—whether wife, bride, or Maid—but Othello's “ with all my heart ” is—

T. Equally worthy of Othello. You know it is.

N. My dear Seward—do the Doge—Brabantio—the Senate understand and believe what Othello has been telling them—and that he has now disclosed to them the fact of a private marriage with Desdemona, of some weeks' or months' standing ? Is that their impression ?

S. I cannot say.

N. I can. Or has Othello been reserved—cautious—crafty in all his apparent candour—and Desdemona equally so ? Are they indeed oldish-married folk ?

T. Shocking—shocking. That Scene in the Council Chamber of itself deals your “ Theory ! ” its death-blow.

S. I look on it in quite another light. I shall be glad to know what you think is meant by Desdemona's to the Duke

“ If I be left behind,
The rites for which I love him are denied me.”

What are the *rites* which are thus all comprehensive of Desdemona's love for Othello ? The phrase is, to the habit of our ears, perhaps somewhat startling ; yet five lines before she said truly “ I saw Othello's visage in his mind ”—a love of spirit for spirit. And again—

“ To his honour and his valiant parts
Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate.”

I think they had been married some time.

T. The word *rites* is the very word most fitting the Lady's lips—used in a generous, free, capacious sense—as of the solace entire which the wife of a soldier has, following him ; as to dress his wounds, wind his laurels, hear his counsels, cheer his darker mood, smile away the lowering of the Elements—

S. You won't understand me.

N. No—no—no. It won't go down. I have opened my mouth far and wide, and it won't go down. Our friend Isaac Widethroat himself could not bolt it. The moral impossibility would choke him—that Othello would marry Desdemona to leave her at her Father's House, for which most perilous and entangling proceeding, quite out of his character, no motive is offered, or imaginable. The love-making might go on long—and I accept a good interval since he drew from her the prayer for his history. The pressure of the war might give a decisive moment for the final step, which must have been in agitation for some time—on Desdemona's behalf and part, who would require some persuasion for a step so desperate, and would not at once give up all hope of her father's consent, who "loved" Othello.

T. If they were married, how base and unmanly *to steal one's wedded Wife out of one's Father-in-law's house!* The only course was to have gone in the middle of the day to Brabantio and say, "this we have done"—or "this I have done. Forgive us, if you can—we are Man and Wife." Men less kingly than Othello have often done it. To steal in order to marry was a temptation with a circumstantial necessity—a gallant adventure in usual estimation.

N. The thing most preposterous to me in a long marriage at Venice, is the continued lying position in which it places Othello and Desdemona towards her father. Two months—say—or three or four—of difficult deception ! when the uppermost characteristic of both is clear-souledness—the most magnanimous sincerity. By that, before anything else, are they kindred and fit for one another. On that, before anything else, is the Tragedy grounded—on his unsuspicuous openness which is drawn, against its own nature, to suspect her purity that lies open as earth's bosom to the sun. And she is to be killed for a dissembler ! In either, immense contrast between the

person and fate. That These Two should truckle to a domestic lie !

T. No. The Abduction and Marriage were of one stroke—one effort—one plot. When Othello says, “That I have ta'en away—that I have married her”—he tells literally and simply that which has happened as it happened, in the order of events.

S. Why should not Othello marry Desdemona, and keep her at her father's as theorised ?

N. It is out of his character. He has the spirit of command, of lordship, of dominion—an *animus imperiosus*. This element must be granted to fit him for his place ; and it is intimated, and is consistent with and essential to his whole fabric of mind. Then, he would not put that which belonged to him out of his power, in hostile keeping—his wife and not his wife. It is contrary to his great love, which desires and would feed upon her continual presence. And against his discretion, prudence, or common sense, to risk that Brabantio, discovering, might in fury take sudden violent measures—shut her up in a convent, or turn her into the streets, or who knows what—kill her.

T. Then the insupportable consideration and question, how do they come together as man and wife ? Does she come to his bedroom at his private Lodgings, or his quarters at the Sagittary ? Or does he go to hers at her father's, climbing a garden wall every night like Romeo, bribing the porter, or trusting Ancilla ? You cannot figure it out any way without *degradation*, and something ludicrous ; and a sense of being entangled in the impracticable.

N. The least that can be said is, that it invests the sanctimony of marriage with the air of an illicit amour.

T. Then the high-minded Othello running the perpetual and imminent risk of being caught thieving—slipping through loop-holes—mouse-holes—key-holes. What in Romeo and Juliet is romance, between Othello and Desdemona is almost pollution.

N. What a desolating of the MANNERS of the Play ! Will you then, in order to evade a difficulty of the mechanical construction, clog and whelm the poetry, and moral greatness of the Play, with a preliminary debasement? Introduce your Hero and Heroine under a cloud?

T. And how can you show that Othello could not at any moment have taken her away, as at last you suppose him to do, having a motive? Mind—he knows that the wars are on—he does not know he shall be sent for that night. He does not know that he may not have to keep her a week at his quarters.

N. My dear Seward—pray, meditate but for a moment on these words of Desdemona in the Council Chamber—

“ My noble Father,
I do perceive here a DIVIDED DUTY :
My life and education both do learn me
How to respect you ; you are the LORD OF DUTY,
I am hitherto your Daughter : BUT HERE'S MY HUSBAND ;
And so much duty as my mother shewed
To you, preferring you before her Father,
So much I challenge that I may profess
Due to the Moor, my Lord.”

These are weighty words—of grave and solemn import—and the time has come when Desdemona the Daughter is to be Desdemona the Wife. She tells simply and sedately—affectionately and gratefully—the great primal Truth of this our human and social life. Hitherto her Father has been to her the Lord of Duty—the Lord of Duty henceforth is to be her Husband. Othello, up to that night, had been but her Lover ; and up to that night—for the hidden wooing was nothing to be ashamed of or repented—there had been to her no “divided Duty”—to her Father's happiness had been devoted her whole filial heart. But had she been a married woman for weeks or months before, how insincere—how hypocritical had that appeal been felt by herself to be, as it issued from her lips! The Duty had, in that case, been “divided” before—and in a way not pleasant for us to think of—to her Father violated or extinct.

T. I engage, Seward, over and above what our Master has made manifest, to show that though this Theory of yours would remove some difficulties attending the time in Cyprus, it would leave others just where they are—and create many more.

N. Grant that Othello and Desdemona must be married for two months before he murders her—that our hearts and imaginations require it. The resemblance to the ordinary course of human affairs

asks it. We cannot bear that he shall extinguish her and himself—both having sipped only, and not quaffed from the cup of hymeneal felicity. Your soul is outraged by so harsh and malignant a procedure of the Three Sisters. Besides, in proper poetical equilibration, he should have enjoyed to the full, with soul and with body, the happiness which his soul annihilates. And men do not kill their wives the first week. It would be too exceptional a case. Extended time is required for the probability—the steps of change in the heart of Othello require it—the construction and accumulation of proofs require it—the wheel of events usually rolls with something of leisure and measure. So is it in the real World—so must it seem to be on the Stage—else no verisimilitude—no “*veluti in speculum*.” “Two months shall elapse between marriage and murder,” says Shakspere—going to write. They must pass at Venice, or they must pass at Cyprus. Place Shakspere in this position, and which will he choose? If at Venice, a main requiring condition is not satisfied. For in the fits and snatches of the clandestine marriage, Othello has never possessed with full embrace, and heart overflowing, the happiness which he destroys. If an earthquake is to ruin a palace, it must be built up to the battlements and pinnacles; furnished, occupied, made the seat of Pleasure, Pomp, and Power; and then shaken into heaps—or you have but half a story. Only at Cyprus Othello *possesses* Desdemona. There where he is Lord of his Office, Lord over the Allegiance of soldier and civilian—of a whole population—Lord of the Island, which, sea-surrounded, is as a world of itself—Lord of his will—Lord of his Wife.

T. I feel, sir, in this view much poetical demonstration—although mathematical none—and in such a case Poetry is your only Principia.

N. Your hand. But if, my dear Seward, Shakspere elects time at Venice, he wilfully clouds his two excellent Persons with many shadows of indecorum, and clogs his Action with a procedure and a state of affairs, which your Imagination loses itself in attempting to define—with improbabilities—with impracticabilities—with impossibilities. If he was resolute to have a well-sustained logic of Time, I say it was better for him to have his Two Months distinct at Cyprus. I say that, with his creative powers, if he was determined to have

Two Calendar Months from the First of May to the First of July, and then in One Day distinctly the first suspicion sown and the murder done, nothing could have been easier to him than to have imagined, and indicated, and hurried over the required gap of time ; and that he would have been bound to prefer this course to that inexplicable marriage and no marriage at Venice.

B. How he clears his way !

N. But Shakspere, my dear Boys, had a better escape. Wittingly or unwittingly, he exempted himself from the obligation of walking by the Calendar. He knew—or he felt that the fair proportionate structure of the Action required liberal time at Cyprus. He took it ; for there it is, recognized in the consciousness of every sitting or standing spectator. He knew, or he felt, that the passionate expectation to be sustained in the bosoms of his audience required a rapidity of movement in his Murder-Plot, and it moves on feet of fire.

S. Venice is beginning to fade from my ken.

N. The first of all necessities towards the Criticism of the Play, Seward, is to convince yourself that there was not—could not be a time of concealed marriage at Venice—that it is not hinted, and is not inferable.

B. Shall we give in, Seward ?

S. Yes.

N. You must go to the TREMENDOUS DOUBLE TIME AT CYPRUS, knowing that the solution is to be had there, or nowhere. If you cast back a longing lingering look towards Venice, you are lost. Put mountains and waves between you and the Queen of the Sea. Help yourself through at Cyprus, or perish in the adventure.

T. Through that Mystery, you alone, sir, are the Man to help us through—and you must.

N. Not now—to-morrow. Till then be revolving the subject occasionally in your minds.¹

¹ Professor Wilson never resumed the subject in *Blackwood*.—ED.

I. c. THE DRAMATIC UNITIES OF SHAKSPERE,

BY REV. N. J. HALPIN.

“*Ut pictura Poesis.*”

I. UNITY of Subject or Fable is an essential quality in any work of Art, in every department of the Arts. Whether in a ballad or a history, whether in statuary or architecture, in painting or music, unity of design is so absolute a necessity that its absence or infringement mars the beauty and excellences of the production whatever it may be. In this respect Shakspere is perfectly regular. Through all his pieces this unity of fable prevails; and wherever it appears to be infringed, it will be found, on the slightest examination, that the several parts constitute a whole of which each part is the *sine quâ non* of the rest. Thus the *Merchant of Venice* is supposed by the critics to be constructed of two fables, very artfully united, viz. the fortunes of Bassanio and Portia, and the misfortunes of Antonio and Shylock. But the fable is absolutely one and the same. The borrowing of the money on a bond is the *sine quâ non* of the marriage between Bassanio and the wealthy heiress; and this marriage, again, the *sine quâ non* of Antonio's deliverance from death and the confiscation of Shylock's property. Even the elopement of Jessica with a Christian husband and laden with Jewish wealth is a circumstance essential to the barbarity of Shylock's pursuit of vengeance. There is in no one drama of Shakspere an instance in which the bonds of unity are less stringent than the *sine quâ non* condition.

II. The Unity of Place is a condition which the Greek law-givers themselves did not think worthy of a rigid observance. Thus Euripides in *The Suppliants*, during the transit of a single ode, marches an army from Athens to Thebes, where the battle is fought, and whence the General returns victorious; and in the *Trachinians* of Sophocles, the voyage from Thessaly to Eubcea is thrice accomplished in the course of the piece. Nor was Terence more straight-laced than his masters. The action of his *Heautontimorumenos*

commences in a city, migrates for a space to the country, and thence it returns to town. Place, or rather, the *distance* between two places (for with nothing more is dramatic action concerned), is treated by Shakspere simply as *an element of time*; that is to say, the time necessarily occupied in measuring the interval, whether on foot or by any sort of vehicle. *Time* and *place* in Shakspere's system are—

“a just equinox,
The one as long as the other.”

His distances therefore never exceed “twenty miles”¹ by land, or the “narrow seas”² by water; and whenever he wants the advantage of an indefinite idea of *time* and *distance*, he systematically sends one party by sea and another by land to the same place. Thus in the *Merchant of Venice*, Bassanio goes first from Venice to Belmont by water, and Jessica and Lorenzo by land. In the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Valentine and Proteus travel by *sea* from Verona to Milan, and Julia by land; the Poet's object being, first to create an indefinite idea of the distance between the two places, and next, to check off the difference, by means of the several modes of traversing the interval in a given time.

And this is the invariable practice of Shakspere.

It is, however, in his treatment of the unity of *Time* as a dramatic element that Shakspere has (I believe) *invented*, but (most certainly) carried into execution, a species of unity more true, natural, and comprehensive, and not less artistic and symmetrical, than that of the ancients, and which far surpasses in its illusive powers “all Greek, all Roman Art.” The narrow limits which Aristotle has graciously *extended* to a single revolution of the sun, that is to say, to four-and-twenty hours, are by far too combined and confined, either for the complete evolution of a noble and comprehensive action, or for the full and satisfactory development, of the human character.

¹ I know but of one exception, and that is where the Prince says:

‘Go, Poins, to horse, to horse; for thou and I
Have thirty miles to ride ere dinner time.’

1 Henry IV, Act III. sc. iii.

² This expression, which was the ordinary name of the *Straits* between Dover and Calais, invariably suggests to the English mind a voyage which may be made in a *couple of hours*, with a favourable wind, or even in less time, with such gales as the Poet can supply at will.

With respect to the *action*, it must needs be compassed within an arbitrary limit of from three to four-and-twenty hours, partly visible to the spectator,—a limit too short for any great transaction—and partly audible through the dull, cold, and uninteresting narrative of the Nuncius. With reference to *character*, we can know but that brief phase of it which displays itself in the sudden and short transit of a single day, and in a single passion. It requires, in our actual experience of the world, weeks or months to become acquainted with the whole man, his passions, and his temperament, ere we can be probably assured that his character and conduct upon any given occasion is in harmony with what we would know of him in his general, ordinary, and habitual developments. In these respects it must be acknowledged that Shakspere's system has infinitely the advantage of the Grecian. Of the Medea of Euripides we know no more than the single phase in which we behold her in the play called by her name. With the Hamlet of Shakspere we have, as it were, a life-long acquaintance ; we know, in the single transaction before us, the accordance of his present behaviour with the tenor of his general conduct.

But how is this *long* acquaintance to be reconciled with the confessedly *brief* period in which it has actually been acquired ? Dramatic time is a very different thing from natural time. While natural time has no limit but that of experience, dramatic time has limits which the dramatist cannot pass without merging into barbarity. But there is a *natural* law limiting the time of the drama ; and if we ask ourselves what is the drama, the answer will help us to ascertain the natural limit, and to distinguish it from the arbitrary.

The *Drama*, then, is *the imitation by gesture, and in dialogue, of an action which the spectator is privileged to witness with unbroken (or sleepless) attention, at a single sitting, or "watch."*

Its limit, therefore, as to time, corresponds with the period, more or less extended, during which a spectator may be supposed to be a sleepless witness of a transaction sufficiently interesting and important to engage his attention throughout that *watch*. But measured into days, or hours, what the length of that *watch* may be is a matter

of some doubt. Shakspere's own idea of a man's capability of watchfulness may be collected from what Iago says of Cassio :—

“and do but see his vice;
'Tis to his virtue a just equinox,
The one as long as the other; . . .
He'll match the horologe a *double set*,
If drink rock not his cradle.”

Othello, Act II. sc. iii.

Four-and-twenty hours, say the commentators ; but as the Italian horologe numbers upon its dial-plate twenty-four hours, a “double set” or round, *i. e.* forty-eight hours, is the true time meant. “I feel it unpleasant to appeal to my own experience ; but, having no other voucher at hand, I am constrained to do it.¹”

On many occasions I have involuntarily outwatched the Florentine ; and, upon one occasion at least, by twelve or fourteen hours. In my “salad days” of undergraduatey, Sir Walter Scott's enchanted novel of Waverley fell into my hands ; and being bound to return the volumes very quickly, and being much occupied by business during the day, I sat up during two successive summer nights at its perusal ; nor did I feel any desire or necessity for sleep, until the usual time on the third night ; an interval of no unpleasant watchfulness of six-and-fifty hours at the least, voluntarily endured. I need not add that, so occupied, I scarcely knew how time passed. Supposing then that every one could do what Shakspere has suggested, or I have done myself, I would assume a natural limit to the watch,—say, *forty-eight* or *fifty-six* consecutive hours ; and I affirm that within that period the action of the Shaksperian drama is—*almost* universally—comprehended, and generally very much within that term. Now any other limitation, such as three, six, twelve, or twenty-four hours, is an arbitrary and unnatural law ; improbable and needless where the true law so obviously reveals itself ; and in this respect, I say, Shakspere's law transcends the law of the Greeks and Romans, and altogether eclipses the lights of the French school.

By this limitation, transactions which, according to our experience in life, would *naturally* occupy weeks, or months, nay years, are dramatically drawn within the compass of a few consecutive hours ;

¹ Cowper's Preface to his Translation of Homer.

just as the almost interminable views of the landscape are represented in all verisimilitude on the uniform plane surface of a few feet of canvas. Indeed Shakspere appears to have done for *time* what the painter has done for *space*,—thrown it into *perspective*, and given to the *remote* and to the *near* its proper and distinctive place, colouring, and character, as each exists in the natural world. The one, upon the upright, plane, and (excepting colouring) unvaried surface of a small sheet of canvas, presents to the spectator's eye a landscape embracing space from its nearest *foreground* through all the varieties of hill and valley, until the distances melt in the imperceptible line, where the green earth or the blue sea melts into the undistinguishable *horizon*; the other, within the undisturbed loophole of a single *watch*, gathers up the passages and events of a transaction, from its remotest manifestations down to its perfect and present consummation. The arts of both are of a homogeneous nature, and may be at once characterized and distinguished by the analogous names of the *perspective of space* and the *perspective of time*. The painter produces his effects by means of lights and shades, by the force of his foreground colouring, by atmospheric effects, and the gradual feebleness of his background or distant tints. The poet produces his by a *series* of dates skilfully graduated through a course of events, from that which is actually visible and palpable to the *eyes*, to those transmitted only to the *ears*, or suggested to the spectator's *imagination*, through a hundred different channels, until the impression left upon his mind is an impression composed of the visible and the audible, the natural and the dramatic, the real and the illusory. Shakspere knew at least as well as Horace that

“*Segnus irritant animum demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*”

Upon this well-known principle he contrived what one may term a *Chronometer*, consisting of a double series of time or dates; the one illusory, suggestive, and *natural*; the other artistical, visible and *dramatic*; the first of which may be called the **PROTRACTIVE** series, the latter the **ACCELERATING**: and out of the impressions, thus equally created, he constructed a dramatic system unknown to the world before his time and unpractised ever since. He was the first dis-

coverer, and, as far as my observation goes, the last practitioner, of an art which realizes in its full sense the canon of the Roman critic—

“UT PICTURA POESIS.”

I do not conceive it to have been the poet's desire to impress the spectator or the reader of his works with a rigid belief in the extremes of either series of his dates; to insinuate that the *accelerating* gave the *only true* or the *protractive*, the **ALTOGETHER FALSE** idea of the time of his action. On the contrary, I maintain that, by means of this double series of dates,—of his “two clocks” (according to the happy illustration of Christopher North),—he meant to produce an illusory effect on the mind (such as people actually experience in the theatre), disabling it from ascertaining the *genuine* duration of the action, and only permitting it to form, out of the elements of both series, such a dim, hazy, and indistinct conception as may, nay must, arise from the involution of measures of time so artfully intermingled.

The obvious intent of the illusory progress, is to lead the imagination to conceive, that within the compass of a narrow but uninterrupted *watch*, it may have witnessed an entire transaction, more or less extended, from beginning to end—the present and the past, throughout all the intermediate gradations of old Father “Time with his pentarchy of tenses;” in some such way as the observer beholds in a painted landscape the whole space enclosed within the visible horizon, with all its hills and valleys, woods and rivers, from the foreground close at hand, to the dim spire or the shadowy mountain, distant many, many miles, although every point of the plane, upright surface before us is equally distant from the observer's eye.¹

TIME-ANALYSIS OF *The Merchant of Venice*.

“Of the *Merchant of Venice*, the received opinion is, that the time of the dramatic action, including the term of the bond, extends to somewhat more than three months. This I conceive to be an illusion contrived by means of a double series of dates, one which protracts, the other which accelerates, the action; and that, in virtue

¹ So far Mr Halpin's Essay was written after he had read *Dies Boreales*, Part V. The subsequent part, which stands in notes of quotation, was in manuscript before Prof. Wilson's first discussion appeared in print.—ED.

of the latter, the dramatic time of the play is comprised within thirty-nine consecutive hours.

The transaction naturally divides itself into *two distinct periods*,—with the *interval between them*.

1. The first period ranges from the opening of the action and the borrowing of Shylock's money, to the embarkation of Bassanio and his suite for Belmont :

2. The second includes the time between Bassanio's *arrival at Belmont* and *his return* to it, accompanied by Antonio after the trial :

3. And the *interval* between those two periods is *concurrent with the time of the bond*, whatever that may be.

Let us now examine *each period* of visible action by the dates exactly laid down in the text ; and then fix the *interval* by the same rule.

ACCELERATING SERIES.

1. The action then commences with Bassanio's solicitation of the loan of 3000 ducats, and Antonio's direction to his friend to 'go presently inquire where money is to be had' (Act I. sc. ii.). Bassanio goes on his mission forthwith ; meets with Shylock, agrees upon the terms, and invites him to dinner. The Jew consents to lend the money, but declines to 'smell pork' with the Christian, and he leaves the scene, directing the borrower to 'meet him forthwith at the notary's' ; meanwhile he will

. 'go and purse the ducats straight ;
See to his house, left in the fearful guard
Of an unthrifty knave ; and presently
He will be with them [Bassanio and his friend].'
Act I. sc. ii.

As the invitation to dinner implies the time at which this part of the transaction takes place ; and as the dinner hour in Shakspere's day was twelve o'clock, the time at which the action of the play commences is clearly indicated at a little before noon on the first day, say at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The first Act, therefore, cannot occupy more than a single hour.

The second Act, sc. ii., shows us Bassanio, having touched the ducats, making rapid preparations for his journey, giving to Lorenzo directions to stow his purchases orderly, and hasten his return :

'Return in haste, for I do feast to-night
My best-esteemed acquaintance: hie thee, go.'

The supper hour, we also learn in the same scene, is fixed for *five o'clock* in the afternoon of the same day. 'Let it be so hasted,' says Bassanio, 'that supper be ready at the farthest by *five* of the clock.' At nine the supper party breaks up, and Bassanio embarks for Belmont. Thus,—

'ANTONIO. Fye, fye, Gratiano ! where are all the rest ?
. the wind is come about;
Bassanio presently will go aboard.'—Act II. sc. vi.

And thus the time occupied by the transaction of the first period is exactly limited to ten consecutive hours, viz. :

	Hours.
From the opening of the action to dinner time	1
From dinner time (12 o'clock) to supper (5 o'clock)	5
From supper (5 o'clock) to the embarkation (9 o'clock)	<u>4</u>
First Period	10

II. The second period of action *begins* with Bassanio's arrival at Belmont, and *ends* with his return to it, in company with Antonio, after the trial.

His *arrival at Belmont* is announced in the last scene of the *second Act*, thus :

'SERVANT. Madam, there is alighted at your gate
A young Venetian, &c
NERISSA. Bassanio, lord love, if thy will it be !'

And with those words ends the second Act.

The second scene of Act the *Third* presents Bassanio to Portia (not indeed a new acquaintance, nor now for the first time ; for she had met (see Act I. sc. ii.) at her father's house, 'the Venetian, the scholar, and the soldier that had come thither in company of the Marquis of Montferrat,—whose name was Bassanio') ; but in this scene Bassanio has his first interview, in the capacity of a suitor, with Portia ; and the dialogue shows there has been *no* delay between the announcement of his arrival and his waiting upon the lady. She prays him to pause, to tarry, but he is too impatient to let a moment to interpose between his arrival and the decision of his fortune :

'PORTIA. I pray you tarry; pause a day or two,
Before you hazard

BASSANIO. Let me choose,
For, as I am, I live upon the rack.

. Let me to my fortune and the caskets :'

Act III. sc. ii.

and forthwith proceeding to his election, he wins the inestimable prize.

Scarcely however has he done so, when the melancholy tidings reach him of the bankruptcy and peril of Antonio ; and, under the directions of Portia, he

'First, goes with her to church, and calls her wife ;'—*Ibid.*
and forthwith

'Leaves her on her wedding day.'—*Ibid.*

Under the positive engagement, however, that he *will not sleep till his return.*

'BASSANIO. No bed shall e'er be guilty of my stay;
No rest be interposer 'twixt us twain.'—*Ibid.*

Considering the very early hours which our forefathers, from the highest rank, to the lowest, were used to keep in Shakspere's time, it is not too early to assign this scene and the departure of Bassanio for Venice to about eight o'clock in the morning.

Portia has made up her mind at once to follow him, nay, even to be home again '*before her husband,*' though she knows how speedily he has bound himself to return.

This resolve is put into execution (Act III. sc. iv.), after she has made short preparations for her toilet, given the charge of her household to Lorenzo, and despatched a letter to the Doctor Bellario at Padua, with directions to her messenger to meet her with the Doctor's answer at the *Tranect* with all expedition.

'PORTIA Waste no time in words,
But get thee gone ; I shall be there before thee.'—Act III. sc. ii.

This *Tranect* was the water-passage or ferry between the island on which Venice was built and the mainland on which Belmont stood ; and, therefore, was in the direct line between her residence and the city to which she was going. The distance between the two

points is clearly indicated by her speech to Nerissa, urging her to speed :

‘But come, I'll tell thee all my whole device
When I am in my coach, which stays for us
At the park gate ; and therefore haste away,
For we must measure twenty miles to-day.’—*Ibid.*

Interpreted by the meaning of Bassanio's vow to return *without sleeping* and Portia's resolution to be back again at Belmont *before him*, these *twenty* miles must include the *whole day's journey*, which the lady had to make : that is, *ten* miles to Venice, and *ten* more returning. Venice, then, is but ten miles from Belmont, and the distance might be easily traversed, with a pair of horses to her coach, in a couple of hours. Taking then, *eight o'clock A. M.* for the time of the casket scene, and allotting *four* hours for the marriage ceremony, the preparations for the journey and the journey itself, Portia may have arrived at Venice by *noon*, and taken her place in court after the trial had been begun. But a very short time elapses at the trial scene (only the time of representation), when she again sets out on her return to Belmont, without even waiting for dinner ; thus :

‘DUKE. Sir, I entreat you with me home to dinner.

PORTIA. I humbly do desire your grace of pardon.
I must away *this night* toward Padua,
And it is meet *I presently set forth*.’—Act IV. sc. i.

Again she refuses an invitation from Bassanio, with ‘that cannot be’ ; and having made no delay further than drawing up the deed which Shylock is to sign, and transmitting it to him, she sets out homeward-bound.

‘PORTIA . . . We'll away *to-night*,
And be *a day before* our husbands home.’—Act IV. sc. i.

Bassanio delays some while longer.

. . . . ‘In the morning early will we both
Fly toward Belmont.’—Act IV. sc. i.

quoth he to Antonio ; and in the Fifth Act (which consists but of a single scene), we find him arriving in the garden there, some short time after his lady.

The Fifth Act opens by moonlight.

‘LORENZO. How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank !

A courier enters and announces that

'His mistress will before the break of day
Be here at Belmont.'

And she herself having to dally with the time,

. 'strayed about,
By holy crosses, where she knelt and prayed
For happy wedlock hours,'

shortly afterwards makes her appearance, while still the lamplight in her hall is distinctly visible,—

('The light we see is burning in my hall,')—

as she enters at a distance; so that it is still but dusky morn when she has finished her journey; and it is '*day*',

('Such as the day is when the sun is hid,')

when Bassanio entering, fulfils his promise that betwixt his departure and return

'No bed should e'er be guilty of his stay,
No rest be interposer 'twixt them twain.'

Now that the whole transaction took place in summer, is evident from finding the household of Portia enjoying the beauties of the gardens of Belmont throughout a moonlight night; and considering the shortness of the Italian summer night, and that it is yet but faint and dusky dawn when the whole party re-assemble in the garden, we cannot place the final close of the dramatic action at a later hour than about *two o'clock* of the morning after the trial; that is to say, the second portion of the visible action cannot have occupied more time, than between eight o'clock A. M. of one day, and two o'clock in the forenoon of the succeeding, that is to say, *eighteen consecutive hours*.

Here, then, we have two distinct periods of time, every hour of which is ascertained and plainly accounted for; the first beginning with the loan, and ending with Bassanio's embarkation for Belmont; the second commencing with his arrival there, and terminating with the close of the drama. In the *interval*, whatever that be, comes the expiration of the bond. What is that *interval*? The received opinion takes it to be *three months*. Thus :

'SHYLOCK. Three thousand ducats,—well!

BASSANIO. Ay, sir, for *three months*.—Act I. sc. iii.

It is my conviction, on the contrary,—a conviction which I can justify to demonstration by the text,—that the interval is really but a *single night*; that night, to wit, which intervenes between Bassanio's embarkation and his arrival at Belmont,—that night, in fact, which elapses between Jessica's flight with Lorenzo and her father's fresh and bitter objurgations on the following morning; and that, consequently, the received period of the bond is an *illusory* period. Let us observe the progress of events.

It was agreed upon that the fair fugitive and her lover (Jessica and Lorenzo) should take parts in a mask to be given at Bassanio's supper, and thence elope in the same ship with him. The mask, however, is suddenly put off by a favourable change of the wind, and Bassanio embarks and sets sail without them. But though—through some delay on their part—not on board his vessel, the Jewess and her lover set out upon their flight very shortly afterwards *in a gondola*. She is missed by her father immediately on his return from Bassanio's supper; his suspicions naturally fall on Bassanio, in whose friendship Lorenzo was known to hold a high place; the hue and cry is raised, and the following is a narrative of the events connected with this episode:

'SALARINO. Why man, I saw Bassanio under sail;
With him is Gratiano gone along;
And in their ship, *I am sure, Lorenzo is not.*

SALARIO. The villain Jew with outcries raised the Duke;
Who went with him to search Bassanio's ship.

SALARINO. He came too late, the ship was under sail;
But there the Duke was given to understand,
That in a gondola were seen together
Lorenzo and his amorous Jessica.
Besides, Antonio certified the Duke,
They were not with Bassanio in his ship.'—Act II. sc. viii.

The fact, not very important in itself, is thus strongly impressed upon the mind of the audience, in order to fix with precision the time and manner of Jessica's elopement, and to show that it took place on the same night, and almost at the same moment, as Bassanio's embarkation, viz., at nine o'clock in the evening of the first day's action.

Thus in the eighth scene of the *Second Act*, we find Shylock in his first agonies of rage at his daughter's flight, 'So strange, outrageous, and so variable,' that :

'All the boys in Venice follow him,
Crying,—his stones, his daughter, and his ducats :'

And in the first scene of the *ensuing* Act, we find him in the same continued and unabated state of excitement and frenzy, charging Salarino and Salanio with being accessories and accomplices to the flight and robbery. 'You knew,' says he, addressing those gentlemen, 'you knew, none so well, none so well as you, of my daughter's flight ;' and their provoking and sarcastic answer is : 'That's certain ; I, for my part, know the tailor that made the wings she flew withal.' They then continue to banter him and aggravate his temper, and, as this is obviously a continuation of Shylock's first intemperate rage, and the first interview, since the elopement, between him and his comfortable neighbours, whom (suspecting their knowledge of the facts) he would naturally soon seek out to obtain information, it cannot by any stretch of fancy be supposed to have taken place later than the *first day* (or rather morning) *after the event*, with the interval only of the intervening night. This scene then, be it remembered, is the first in the *Third* Act ; and we have seen at the close of the *preceding* Act (II. ix.) that Bassanio had *in the mean while* arrived at Belmont. Thus the incident of Jessica's elopement *overlaps at both ends* the coincident journey of Bassanio ; and whilst it proves that the time occupied by both is as nearly as possible the same (Jessica and Lorenzo arriving at Belmont during Bassanio's first interview with Portia), demonstrates that time to have been nothing longer than the *single night* which intervenes between Shylock's immediate search for his daughter, and his unabated fury and resentment on the following morning. Measuring, then, this incident in hours, from nine o'clock P. M. of the first day's action, to eight o'clock A. M. of the second day, during which the bond expires, or becomes forfeit, the interval is *eleven hours*.

This view is confirmed by another consideration : the ascertained distance between Belmont and Venice.

We have already seen that the distance between the two points is but *ten miles*. What, then, was Bassanio about for the *three months* supposed to have elapsed between the signing of the bond and its forfeiture ? Was he cruising about the Gulf of Venice ?—or did his

passage of the *Tranect* occupy all that time? Lorenzo and Jessica, who left Venice by a gondola about the same time that he did, arrived by land from thence nearly as soon as himself; and Salerio, who must have left Venice *on the day after them*, performs the same feat. Did they, likewise, spend three months upon the journey which Portia could traverse in her coach *twice* within *twenty* hours? In short, did Bassanio waste ninety-one days upon a voyage by sea, when he might, as he subsequently did in company with Antonio, have reached his destination in a couple of hours?¹

Certainly not. There is, therefore, some strong illusion as to the period of the bond; and if we observe the proofs, we must admit the contrivance to be profoundly artistical.

PROTRACTIVE SERIES.

The bond upon which *ostensibly* the money is lent is a bond for 'three thousand ducats at three months'; that upon which it is *really* advanced, is a bond substituted for the former, through the affected good nature and kindness of Shylock. The first was, of course, the ordinary mercantile bond of the country, bearing the usual interest, payable at a certain specified date, and, doubtless, subject to the usual penalty of double the amount on forfeiture. Of the second we know little or nothing beyond the penalty on forfeiture,—'a pound of flesh,' &c. It is a 'merry bond,' drawn, signed, and sealed, in 'a merry sport.' It bears no interest, indeed, but we are left in ignorance of the sum really advanced, or of the time and place when and where it should become payable. The Jew's own description of the instrument is in the following very ambiguous terms:

'Go with me to a notary: seal me there

¹ "A couple of hours." Thus Bassanio, after the trial, proceeding towards Antonio's house, he says to him :

"In the morning early will we both

Fly toward Belmont."—Act IV. sc. i. (at the end).

The earliest in the *morning* at which they could have departed would be after twelve o'clock at night. But we find them both arriving at Portia's dwelling in the dusk of a summer's dawning, say at two o'clock A. M. "This night," says Portia just as the friends are about to enter,—

"This night, methinks, is but the day-light sick;

It looks a little paler; 'tis a day

Such as the day is when the sun is hid."—Act V. sc. i.

Your *single* bond ; and in a merry sport,
 If you repay me not on *such a day*,
 In *such a place, such sum, or sums*, as are
 Expressed in the condition, *let the forfeit*
 Be nominated for an equal pound
 Of your fair flesh,' &c.—Act I. sc. iii.

To lure the merchant more effectually into his snare, the Jew represents this proffer as an act of disinterested kindness :

'I would be friends with you, and have your love ;
 Forget the shames that you have stained me with ;
 Supply your present wants, nor take no doit
 Of usance for my moneys, and you'll not hear me :
 This is kind I offer.'—*Ibid.*

And further to disarm them of all suspicion, he sneers at the absurdity of their supposing that, in any case, he would think of exacting the forfeiture. 'Pray you,' quoth he,

. 'Pray you tell me this ;
 If he should break this day, what should I gain
 By the exaction of the forfeiture ?
 A pound of man's flesh, taken from a man,
 Is not so estimable, profitable neither,
 As flesh of muttons, beefs, or goats. I say,
 To buy his favour I extend this friendship ;
 If he will take it, so ; if not, adieu ;
 And, for my love, I pray you, wrong me not.'—*Ibid.*

A penalty like this was not, with due time for preparation, likely to be incurred ; still less, under such professions, to be enforced. The terms are agreed to, and Shylock proceeds alone to give the notary 'directions for this merry bond.' Antonio, in his reliance on the Jew's reasoning and assurances, signs and seals the instrument, perhaps without examination ; and the deed being legally drawn up, and the penalty not unprecedented, he must abide the consequences of his own rash act.¹

Correct, however, in its technical forms, as this 'merry bond' may have been, we yet know that in some respect it was *fraudulent*

¹ "He has been warned of the danger ; but persists.

BASSANIO. You shall not seal to such a bond for me.

ANTONIO. Why, fear not, man ; I will not forfeit it."

And again :

"Yes, Shylock, I will seal unto this bond."—Act I. sc. iii.

in its substance ; for, at the trial, Shylock is charged with having

‘*Indirectly* and *directly* too
Contrived against the very life
Of the defendant.’—Act IV. sc. i.

‘*Directly*,’ by proceeding with knife, scales, and weights, to exact the fatal forfeiture ; and ‘*indirectly*,’ no doubt, by some *fraudulent* contrivance in the deed. What could this fraud have been ? Comparing the date of the execution of the bond with the date of its expiring, we are led to the irresistible conclusion, that the fraud lay either in the omission of any date or period at all, or the substitution of a false one ; and, in the latter case, we must suppose it was payable, according to a very unusual practice among merchants, *at sight*, or *on demand*. This view entirely reconciles the apparent discrepancy between the actual time of Bassanio’s journey to Belmont, and the time of the bond’s arrival at maturity ; and Shakspere has taken care to account for the relentless rapidity with which Shylock takes savage advantage of his fraud. For no other purpose does he introduce the otherwise extraneous episode of Jessica’s elopement with Lorenzo, in company, as it was thought, with Antonio’s friend, and laden with her father’s diamonds and ducats, than to exasperate the Jew’s hatred of the Christian merchant, and to precipitate his revenge. Whilst yet raging for his daughter’s flight, he has heard of Antonio’s (supposed) ‘loss by sea’ ; he hears, also, from Tubal, of ‘divers of Antonio’s creditors coming to Venice, that swear he cannot choose but break’ ; and knowing, by the recent transaction between them, that the merchant had neither ‘money nor commodity to raise a *present sum*,’ he rushes forthwith to demand payment, exclaiming as he goes, ‘I will have the heart of him if he forfeit.’ Antonio is unprepared for such a sudden and unexpected demand. The bond is dishonoured ; the penalty is incurred. The Jew proceeds to his revenge ; and for this characteristic trait we are prepared by the foreboding words of Antonio :

‘If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
As to thy friends (for when did friendship take
A breed of barren metal of his friend ?)
But lend it rather to thine *enemy* ;
Who, if he break, *thou mayst with better face*
Exact the penalties.’—Act I. sc. iii.

Now it is to be observed that Shylock had lent the money, ‘as to a friend’; but the real or affected exasperation of his daughter’s elopement enables him to exact the penalty with ‘better face,’ and he loses not a moment to resume his enmity.

On no other grounds indeed can the bankruptcy—if such it must be called—of Antonio be reconciled with the fact of his absolute solvency. He was as wealthy at the time of his forfeiture and trial as he was either when he contracted the debt, or as afterwards, when he learns at Belmont that his

‘Argosies

Are richly come to harbour suddenly.’—Act V. sc. i.

That is, *before they were expected*. And yet, supposing, as he did at first, that the bond had three months to run, they were expected ‘within two months,’ or, as he adds,—

‘. a month before
This bond expires, I do expect return
 Of thrice three times the value of this bond.’—Act I. sc. iii.

The argosies, then, did arrive, laden with treasures, a very long time, indeed, *before a bond for three months could have run its course*; how, then, could Antonio have forfeited the penalty, if the actual bond had the supposed time to run out? No; the fact is, Antonio was never really a bankrupt at all. He was, indeed, at the opening of the action, in want of ready money, just as he was when the payment of the bond was rigidly exacted *on demand*, or *at sight*; but on both occasions he had credit to any amount he might require. Shylock did not scruple to advance him three thousand ducats on his *single security*; and ere his trial he had at his command

‘six thousand ducats to deface the bond;
 Double six thousand, and then treble that.’—Act III. sc. ii.

How, then, is it possible that a bond, whose expiration must have been so long foreseen as the supposititious one at three months, and enforced by such a rigorous penalty, could have been suffered to expire by a man having such resources, such securities, such credit, and such friends, as Antonio had? Nothing but surprise, sudden, unexpected, and rigorously taken advantage of, could have reduced him to a state of forfeiture; and nothing could have reduced him to such a

surprise, except the fact that the bond to which he had set his seal was *unconditionally payable on demand or at sight*. Shylock knew this well; he knew, from the transaction of the previous day, Antonio's want of 'money or commodity to raise a *present sum*'; and, payment not being forthcoming on the instant, he seized with rapacity the advantage which the law allowed him, and insisted on the penalty. This is the plain account of the matter. It reconciles the *apparent* with the *real* time of the drama; and it shall be presently made to appear why the poet resorted to this artifice for ostensibly protracting the duration of the action.

The *interval during which the bond expires* being thus limited to the *corresponding interval between Bassanio's embarkation and his arrival at Belmont*, namely, from *nine o'clock* in the afternoon of the first day, and *eight o'clock* in the forenoon of the following, we ascertain with precision the whole duration of the dramatic time of the action. Thus :

	Hours.
For the first period	10
For the second period	18
For the interval between both	11
Total duration	<hr/> 39

It is not to be denied, however, that many scenes, incidents, and *habitudes*, in the progress of the play, suggest to the imagination of the spectator a greater extension of time than that which is really displayed to his senses. But these apparent retardations of the action are merely illusory, and are affected by contrivances which, on being examined, are found to be purely artificial, and perfectly reconcileable with that series of dates which give the true and visible time of the dramatic action. Amongst the more remarkable of those *protractive* contrivances is the supposititious period through which the bond has to run. We forget that there are two bonds spoken of, and that the one is surreptitiously substituted for the other; one bearing date at three months,—'three thousand ducats for three months,'—a phrase iterated and reiterated until it has taken entire possession of the imagination; and another to which no date whatever is assigned beyond the vague suggestion of 'such a day.' The substitution of one for the other

takes place in ‘a merry sport,’ which makes the chief party concerned, and consequently the spectators, indifferent and inattentive to this part of the transaction ; and we hear no more of either bond until the forfeiture. It is plain that in this case the poet—for his purpose—has taken advantage of the first impression on the mind of the spectator ; and that the spectator, unconscious of the trick, remains under the delusion, until his reason compels him to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between the supposititious period of the bond and its actual expiration.

Another of those protractive expedients occurs in the several scenes at Belmont, interposed between parts of the main action previous to Bassanio’s successful venture on the caskets. To those scenes there are two considerations which give an air of considerable lapses of time, viz., first, the vague idea of the distance between Belmont and Venice, suggested by the necessity of a sea voyage, ere yet we have learned the real distance between the places, and from this we catch the notion of a corresponding remoteness of time ; and secondly, the number of suitors whom Portia has to be freed from ere the good fortune of Bassanio can come to its trial. But those difficulties vanish on examination, and it becomes evident that those scenes occupy no more time than the intervals between the parts of the main action carried on by Bassanio and his friends. As soon, for instance, as we know that Belmont is but ten miles distant from Venice, the imaginary remoteness of time as well as place vanishes ; we can easily discern how the second scene of the first Act,—that between Portia and Nerissa, discussing the merits of the several suitors—occupies the interval only between the first and the third scene of the same Act, namely, the time employed by Bassanio in discovering a money lender. Then for the disposal of Portia’s suitors. It is true she has many to be freed from. There is the Neapolitan Prince ; the county Palatine ; the French Lord, Mons. Le Bon ; Faulconbridge, the young Baron of England ; the Scottish Lord, his neighbour ; the young German, the Duke of Saxony’s brother ; the Prince of Morocco ; and the Prince of Arragon. But ‘they come like shadows, so depart’ ; ‘While we shut the gate upon one woer,’ says Portia, ‘another knocks at the door’ (Act I. sc. ii). Unwilling to risk the conditions,

six of them have already determined to 'return to their homes and to trouble the lady no more with their suit' (*Ibid.*). Of the two who remain to try their fortune, the Prince of Morocco, who arrives at Belmont some hours before Bassanio, leaves Venice on the first day of the action, makes no longer delay than to dine with the lady, repairs to the temple to be sworn to the conditions, to make an unhappy choice among the caskets, and to be forthwith despatched :

‘Cold, indeed ; and labour lost :
Thee, farewell heat ; and welcome frost.
Portia, adieu ! I have too grieved a heart
To take a tedious leave.’—Act II. sc. vii.

And finally, the Prince of Arragon's dismissal takes place in Act II. sc. ix., and at some hour between the embarkation of Bassanio at Venice and his arrival at Belmont, apparently a short time only before the latter event. The whole adventure is rapidly transacted :

‘NERISSA. *Quick, quick,* I pray thee, draw the curtain straight ;
The Prince of Arragon hath ta'en his oath,
And comes to his election *presently*.
(Enter Arragon, *his train* ; Portia, *with her's, &c.*)’

He proceeds forthwith to ‘unlock his fortunes,’ loses the prize, and bids adieu ; and ere Portia has left the scene the arrival of Bassanio is announced. It is certain, therefore, that, whatever air of protraction the bustle and variety of those scenes may give, they all, in reality, take place in the corresponding intervals between parts of the main action, without in the slightest degree really retarding its progress.

Another of those delusive expedients will be found in the scene (Act III. sc. i.) between Shylock and Tubal. If we take this scene *au pied de la lettre*, we shall imagine that Tubal has been to Genoa and back again, between the elopement of Jessica and this interview with her father.

‘SHYLOCK. How now, Tubal, what news from Genoa ? hast thou found my daughter ?

TUBAL. I often *came* where I did hear of her, but *cannot* find her.’

It is plain from this equivocal answer, and the various reports which follow, that, with the malice ascribed to him and all his race

in this play¹, Tubal is throughout playing on the irritated feelings and passions of his countryman. He has been in Genoa, indeed, and is just returned from it; but it does not appear that he went thither in quest of Shylock's daughter. Nor does Shylock's address to him, however carefully worded, necessarily imply any such purpose. It consists of two distinct questions; the first touching his mission to Genoa, which was probably mercantile,—‘What news from Genoa?’ —the second touching that which was uppermost in the speaker's mind, the flight of his daughter with his ducats,—‘Hast thou found my daughter?’ as much as to say, ‘Perhaps you don't come to speak to me, in my present troubles, about business; but you may have heard something of my daughter, and are come to impart it.’ Tubal's answer is indirect: he says nothing of Genoa, but admits that he had often come where he heard of Jessica (*perhaps* in Venice since his return), but without being able to find her; and he continues throughout the succeeding dialogue to rub and irritate the two-fold passion under which the mind of his *friend* was labouring; now tickling him with the misfortunes of Antonio, and now goading him with the extravagance of his daughter. In pursuance of this *good-natured* project, he designedly confounds the two topics of Shylock's inquiry, and, when pressed upon one point, dexterously rides off upon the other. Thus, in the following masterly passage, when Shylock, dwelling upon his daughter's ill-conduct, complains that ‘there is no ill-luck stirring, but what lights on his shoulders; no sighs, but of his breathing; no tears, but of his shedding,’ Tubal observes:

‘Yes, other men have ill-luck too. Antonio, as I heard in Genoa,—

SHYLOCK. What, what, what? ill luck, ill luck?

TUBAL,—hath an argosy cast away, coming from Tripolis.

SHYLOCK. I thank God, I thank God:—Is it true? is it true?

TUBAL. I spoke with some of the sailors that escaped the wreck.

SHYLOCK. I thank thee, good Tubal: good news, good news: ha! ha!—where? in Genoa?

TUBAL. Your daughter spent in Genoa, as I heard, one night, fourscore ducats!

¹ See in the preceding speech of Salarino—(“Enter Tubal). Here comes another of the tribe; a third cannot be matched, unless the devil himself turn Jew.”

SHYLOCK. Thou stick'st a dagger in me:—I shall never see my gold again: Four score ducats at a sitting! fourscore ducats!

TUBAL. There came divers of Antonio's creditors in my company to Venice, that swear he cannot choose but break.

SHYLOCK. I'm glad of it; I'll plague him; I'll torture him: I'm glad of it.

TUBAL. One of them showed me a ring, that he had of your daughter for a monkey.

SHYLOCK. Out upon her! Thou torturtest me, Tubal: it was my turquoise;

TUBAL. But Antonio is certainly undone.

SHYLOCK. Nay, that's true, that's very true: Go, Tubal, fee me an officer, bespeak him a fortnight before. I will have the heart of him,

From all this we perceive, as clearly as we see the malice and revengefulness of Shylock, the extreme maliciousness and cruelty of Tubal's disposition, and may fairly infer that, to indulge his humour at his friend's expense, he would not scruple to strain a point. He is a manifest liar. He reports the loss of one of Antonio's argosies, and confirms his statement by averring that he had it from 'some sailors that escaped the wreck.' Good evidence this, and out of the mouths of many witnesses. But we know (at the last) that Antonio has sustained no loss at all,—no wreck,—and that Tubal's story is a falsehood invented for the nonce. 'Sweet lady,' quoth Antonio to Portia,—

'Sweet lady, you have given me life, and living;
For here I read *for certain*, that my ships
Are safely come to road.'—Act V. sc. last.

Again, if by his speech, as given in all the editions, Tubal means to say that Jessica had 'spent in Genoa, as he heard, one night, four-score ducats,' we know also that he must be a liar; for Jessica was not at Genoa at all. In fact she had not reached many miles from Venice, when, between that city and Belmont, she and her lover were overtaken by Salerio, who was hastening to acquaint Bassanio with the news of Antonio's misfortunes, and persuaded to accompany him thither; thus:

'LORENZO. . . . For my part, my lord,
My purpose was not to have seen you here;
But meeting with Salerio by the way,

He did entreat me, past all saying nay,
To come with him along.

SALERIO. I did, my lord,
And I have reason for it.'

The fugitives therefore had not been to Genoa, and consequently they were either foully belied by Tubal; or his speech—which I rather suspect to be the case—is very grossly misprinted.

This speech is given, as quoted above, in all the editions. A slight change, however,—not in the words nor even in the letters, but merely in the pointing,—would restore it to consistency with the real state of the facts, without at all abating of its malice. He has been just telling of what he heard in *Genoa*:

'TUBAL. Antonio,—as I heard in *Genoa*,—hath an argosy cast away.
I spoke with some of the sailors that escaped the wreck.
SHYLOCK. I thank thee, good Tubal: good news, good news: ha! ha!—where?—in *Genoa*?'

That is to say, 'Where did you hear this good news?—was it in Genoa?' Tubal, however, is too intent on his malicious purpose to give a direct reply, but, bursting into a scandalous tale of his friend's daughter, interpolates, by parenthesis, his answer to the Jew's question. The passage should probably be printed thus:

'SHYLOCK. . . . Where?—in Genoa?

TUBAL. Your daughter spent—(in Genoa),—as I heard, one night, fourscore ducats.'

Such interruptions and suspensions in the midst of a sentence,—in order to answer, ere one forgets, or is led away from the subject,—a question—are not unusual in conversation; the dialogue of Ben Jonson abounds with them, nor is that of Shakspere destitute of examples. They are very natural, and, if not distinctly marked by the due inflection of the voice, may mislead the hearers: still more likely would they be, if not with equal distinctness marked in the manuscript, to mislead the printers. I think this must have been the case in this instance, otherwise the anxious enquiry of the Jew respecting the whereabouts of Tubal's well-attested narrative will remain without an answer, and his statement must be taken as a wilful un-

truth. There is nothing, therefore, in this scene which necessarily impedes the more rapid action which we have already traced; for I suppose that the greedy burst of malice with which *Shylock* instructs *Tubal* to 'bespeak him an officer a *fortnight* before,' will suggest nothing more than the extreme impatience of the cruel creditor to glut his revengeful animosity with the utmost certainty and with the shortest delay.

Another suspension of time seems to be suggested by a short speech of *Jessica's*, immediately after her arrival at Belmont, and while the party there are discussing the intelligence of *Antonio's* forfeiture. *Salerio* observes of *Shylock*, that

. . . . 'none can drive him from the envious plea
Of forfeiture, of justice, and his bond.'—Act III. sc. ii.

And *Jessica* subjoins :

'When I was with him I have heard him swear
To *Tubal*, and to *Chus*, his countrymen,
That he would rather have *Antonio's* flesh
Than twenty times the value of the sum
That he did owe him.'—*Ibid.*

This language at first sight seems to imply that *Shylock* was in the habit of expressing himself thus to his family and friends at home; and doubtless so he was.—We know of his long-standing enmity against *Antonio*; but we must beware of thinking that those expressions had immediate reference to the transaction going on between them. That *Jessica* was speaking of her father's *habit* is clear from this, that since the day on which the bond was contracted she has *never been at home*, never been with him, so as to overhear any of his conversation with his countrymen on the subject. In fact she has had but a single interview with him between the sealing of the bond and her own elopement; and, having ourselves been ear and eye witnesses to that interview, we know that no such conversation took place between her father and his countrymen on that occasion. We must, therefore, understand her as speaking of conversations and transactions *prior to the bond*, and her speech to be nothing more than evidence of the *general and habitual* hatred of the Christian merchant which her father was wont to express, '*while she was with him*', i. e.

before she eloped, or the bond existed. Nor is her expression of 'twenty times the sum,' &c., to be taken for more than a common mode of indicating an indefinite amount. The whole passage, therefore, presents no obstacles to the rapid current of action whose real progress we have already ascertained.

There remains but one more note of retardation to be considered, and it is easily disposed of. Shortly after his arrest, Antonio, weighed down with his calamities, observes :

'These griefs and losses have so 'bated me,
That I shall hardly spare a pound of flesh
To-morrow to my bloody creditor.'—Act III. sc. ii.

By this expression it would, at first sight, appear that the forfeiture, the arrest, the trial, and the execution of sentence, did not, or were not intended to succeed in such rapid succession as we have already assigned. But this is the miscalculation of the merchant, not of the poet. Antonio may have expected that he would not have been brought to trial *until* 'to-morrow'; or he may have hoped that the *execution* would have been held over till the 'morrow': and the passage shows nothing more than the natural tenacity with which a man clings to the slenderest hope of a prolonged existence.

It is not to be doubted, however, that, for reasons to be now developed, it was the poet's intention that those procrastinating scenes and sentences should give to his action the appearance of occupying a longer extension of time than that in which it is dramatically transacted. He knew that the drama, being an imitation, a similitude of nature, is not nature itself, but a copy, whose excellence depends on the amount of illusion with which the poet can invest it. He knew, therefore, that *dramatic* time is not *natural* time; that the former consists not of the *arbitrary* segment assigned it by the laws of the Greek or the French schools,—whether that be co-equal with the performance on the stage, or with a period of twelve hours, or with a single revolution of the sun,—but of that period during which the spectator may be supposed capable of watching, without any interruption, or interval of sleep, the progress of an action sufficiently interesting to keep his attention alive and fixed."

APPENDIX II.



DR FORMAN'S BOOK OF PLAYS,

OR

NOTES IN 1611

ON

SHAKSPERE'S *RICHARD II*, *WINTER'S TALE*, *CYMBELINE*,
AND *MACBETH*,*From the Writer's own Manuscript, Ashmole 203, Article X.*WITH THE LORD TREASURER'S PAYMENTS FOR THE ACTING OF
6 OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS IN 1613.

I have so often wanted a trustworthy print of the Notes of the old astrological quack Doctor on the four Shakspere plays that he saw in the few months before his death, that I take the present opportunity of putting them in type. Mr Thompson Cooper's excellent *Biographical Dictionary* (G. Bell, 1873) says of Forman :—

“FORMAN, Simon, a noted astrologer, born near Wilton, Wiltshire, 30 Dec. 1552. After receiving a very irregular education, he studied for a time in the free school adjoining Magdalen College, Oxford, and eventually settled in London, where he practised as an empiric, astrologer, and fortune-teller, being much patronised by the credulous. He was greatly harassed by the College of Physicians, until he managed to get a regular license to practise physic from the university of Cambridge. Died Sept. 1611. His only published work is ‘The Grounds of the Longitude,’ 1591; but he left a mass of MSS., most of which are now in the Ashmolean Museum¹ at Oxford. *Athen. Cantab.* vol. iii.”

I add the two entries from the Accounts of Lord Stanhope, James I.'s Treasurer of the Chamber, Michaelmas 1612—1613, in the Rawlinson MS. A. 239 (in the Bodleian) as to the performance of six of Shakspere's Plays in 1613.—F. J. F.

¹ See the late Mr Black's admirable Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS.

APPENDIX II.

DR FORMAN'S BOOK OF PLAYS.

[*Ashm. MS. 208, art. X, leaf 200. Bodleian Library. (Not forged.)*]
The Booke of Plaies and Notes therof per formans for Common
Pollicie.

¹ In Richard the 2 At the glob 1611 the 30 of Aprill.

Remember therin howe Iack straw by his overmoch boldnes, not
beinge pollitick nor suspecting Anye thinge, was Soddenly at Smith-
feld Bars stabbed by Walworth the major of London, & soe he and
his wholle Army was overthrownen. Therfore in such a case or the
like, never admit any party, with-out a bar betwen, for A man cannot
be so wise, nor kepe him selfe to safe.

Also remember howe the duke of gloster, The Erell of Arundell,
oxford and others, crossing the kinge in his humor, about the duke
of Erland and Bushy, wer glad to fly and Raise an hoste of men, and
beinge in his Castell, howe the d. of Erland cam by nighte to betray
him with 300 men, but hauinge pruie warninge ther-of kept his gates
faste, And wold not suffer the Enimie to Enter / which went back
Again with a flie in his eare, and after was slainte by the Errell of
Arundell in the battell.

Remember also, when the duke and Arundell cam to London with
their Army, king Richard came forth to them and met them and gaue
them fair wordes, and promised them pardon and that all should be
well yf they wold discharge their Army, vpon whose promises and
faier Speaches they did yt, and Affter the king byd them all to a
banket and soe betraide them and Cut of their heades, &c, because they
had not his pardon vnder his hand & sealle before but his worde.

¹ leaf 201.

¹ Remember therin Also howe the ducke of Lankaster pruily contruyed all villany, to set them all together by the ears, and to make the nobility to Envy the kinge and mislyke of him and his gouernemente, by which meanes he made his own sonn king, which was henry Bullinbrocke.

Remember also howe the duke of Lankaster asked A wise man, wher him self should ever be kinge, And he told him no, but his sonn should be a kinge. And when he had told him / he hanged him vp for his labor, because he should not brute yt abrod or speke ther-of to others. This was a pollicie in the common-wealthes opinion.² But I sai yt was a villaines parte, and a Iudas kisse to hange the man for telling him the truth. Beware by this Example of noble men / and of their fair wordes, & sai lyttell to them, lest they doe the like by thee for thy good will./

In the Winters Talle at the glob,
1611, the 15 of maye.

Obserue ther howe Lyontes the kinge of Cicillia was overcom with Ielosy of his wife, with the kinge of Bohemia, his frind, that came to see him, and howe he contriued his death, and wold haue had his cup-berer to haue poisoned, who gaue the king of bohemia warning ther-of, & fled with him to bohemia / Remember also howe he sent to the Orakell of appollo, & the Aunswer of apollo that she was giltles, and that the king was Ielouse, &c, and howe Except the child was found Again that was loste, the kinge should die with-out yssue, for the child was caried into bohemia, & ther laid in a forrest & brought vp by a sheppard. ³And the kinge of bohemia his sonn maried that wentch, & howe they fled in Cicillia to Leontes, and the sheppard hauing showed the letter of the nobleman by whom Leontes sent a⁴ was that child, and the Iewelles found about her. she was knownen to be leontes daughter, and was then 16 yers old.

Remember also the Rog. that cam in all tottered like coll pixci / and howe he feyned him sicke & to haue bin Robbed of all that he had, and howe he cosoned the por man of all his money, and after cam to the shop sher⁵ with a pedlers packe, & ther cosoned them Again

¹ leaf 201, back. ² MS. opiniron. ³ leaf 202. ⁴ so in the MS. ⁵ sheepshearing.

of all ther money. And howe he changed apparrell with the kinge of bomia his sonn, and then howe he turned Courtiar, &c / beware of trustinge feined beggars or fawninge fellowise.

¹ of Cimbalin king of England.

Remember also the storri of Cymbalin king of England, in Lucius tyme, howe Lucius Cam from Octauus Cesar for Tribut, and being denied, after sent Lucius with a greate Arme of Souldiars who landed at milford hauen, and Affter wer vanquished by Cimbalin, and Lucius taken prisoner, and all by means of 3 outlawes, of the which 2 of them were the sonns of Cimbalim, stolen from him when they were but 2 yers old by an old man whom Cymbalin banished, and he kept them as his own sonns 20 yers with him in A cave. And howe [one] of them slewe Clotan, that was the quens sonn, goinge To milford hauen to sek the loue of Innogen the kinges daughter, whom he had banished also for louinge his daughter. and howe the Italian that cam from her loue conveied him selfe into A Cheste, and said yt was a chest of plate sent from her loue & others, to be presented to the kinge. And in the depest of the night, she being aslepe, he opened the cheste, & cam forth of yt, And vewed her in her bed, and the markes of her body, & toke a-wai her braslet, & after Accused her of adultery to her loue, &c. And in thend howe he came with the Ro-mains into England & was taken prisoner, and after Reueled to Inno-gen, who had turned her self into mans apparrell & fled to mete her loue at milford hauen, & chanchsed to fall on the Caeu in the wodes wher her 2 brothers were, & howe by eating a sleping Dram they thought she had bin deed, & laid her in the wodes, & the body of cloten by her in her loues apparrell that he left behind him, & howe she was found by lucius, &c.

² IN Mackbeth at the glob,³ 16j0, the 20 of Aprill, ther was to be obserued, firste, howe Mackbeth and Bancko, 2 noble men of Scotland, Ridinge thorowe a wod, the[r] stode before them 3 women feiries or Nimpes⁴, And saluted Mackbeth, sayinge, 3 tyms vnto him, haille mackbeth, king of Codon; for thou shal be a kinge, but shal beget

¹ leaf 206.

² leaf 207.

³ MS. glod.

⁴ the im has 5 strokes.

No kinge, &c. then said Bancko, what all to mackbeth And nothing to me. Yes, said the nimphes¹, haille to thee Banko, thou shalt beget kinges, yet be no kinge. And so they departed & cam to the courte of Scotland to Dunkin king of Scotes, and yt was in the dais of Edward the Confessor. And Dunkin bad them both kindly wellcome, And made Mackbeth forth with Prince of Northumberland, and sent him hom to his own castell, and appointed mackbeth to proud for him, for he wold Sup with him the next dai at night, & did soe. And mackebeth contrived to kill Dunkin², & thorowe the persuasion of his wife did that night Murder the kinge in his own Castell, beinge his gueste. And ther were many prodigies seen that night & the dai before. And when MackBeth had murdred the kinge, the blod on his handes could not be washed of by any means, nor from his wiues handes, which handled the bloddi daggers in hiding them, By which means they became both moch amazed & affronted. the murder being knownen, Dunkins 2 sonns fled, the on to England, the [other to] ³ Walles, to sauе them selues. They beinge fled, they were supposed guilty of the murder of their father, which was nothinge so. Then was Mackbeth crowned kinge, and then he for feare of Banko, his old companion, that he should beget kinges but be no kinge him selfe, he contriued the death of Banko, and caused him to be Murdred on the way as he Rode. The next night, beinge at supper with his noble men whom he had bid to a feaste to the which also Banco ⁴ should haue com, he began to speake of Noble Banco, and to wish that he wer ther. And as he thus did, standing vp to drincke a Carouse to him, the ghoste of Banco came and sate down in his cheier be-hind him. And he turninge A-bout to sit down Again sawe the goste of banco, which fronted him so, that he fell in-to a great passion of fear and fury, Vtteringe many⁵ wordes about his murder, by which, when they hard that Banco was Murdred they Suspected Mackbet.

Then MackDove fled to England to the kinges sonn, And soe they Raised an Army, And cam into scotland, and at dunston Anyse overthrue Mackbet. In the mean⁶ tyme whille macdouee was in Eng-

¹ the im has 5 strokes.

⁴ MS. Bamco.

² MS. Dumkin.

⁵ MS. mamay.

³ leaf 207, back.

⁶ MS. meam.

land, Mackbet slewe Mackdoues wife & children, and after in the battelle mackdoue slewe mackbet.

Obserue Also howe mackbeteſ quen did Rise in the night in her ſlepe, & walke and talked and confeſſed all, & the docter noted ner wordes.

Extracts from Lord-Treasurer Stanhope's Accounts as to 6 of
Shakſpere's Plays acted in 1613.

[*Rawl. MS. A. 239, leaf 47.* (Not forged.)]

The Accompte of the right honourable the Lord Stanhope of Harrington, Treasurer of his Majesties Chamber, for all ſuch Somes of money as hath beine receaved and paied by him within his Office from the feaste of St. Michaell Tharchangell, Anno *Regni Regis Jacobi Decimo* (1612), vntill the feaste of St. Michaell, Anno *Regni Regis Jacobi vndecimo* (1613), conteyning one whole yeare.

Item paid to John Heminges vpon lyke warrant, dated att Whitehall ix^o die Julij 1613 for himself and the rest of his fellowes his Majesties ſervauntes and Players for preſenting a playe before the Duke of Savoyes Embassadour on the viijth daye of June, 1613, called Cardenna, the ſome of vj li xij s iiiij d.

¹ Item paid to John Heminges vpon the Cowncells warrant dated att Whitehall xx^o die Maij 1613, for preſenting before the Princes Highnes the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Pallatyne Elector fowerteene severall playes, viz: one playe called ffilaster, One other called the Knott of ffooles, One other *Much adoe aboute nothinge*, The Mayeds Tragedy, The merye dyvell of Edmonton, *The Tempeſt*, A kinge and no kinge / The Twins Tragedie / *The Winters Tale*, Sir John falſtaſſe², *The Moore of Venice*, The Nobleman, *Cæſars Tragedye*³ / And one other called Love lyes a bleedinge, All which Playes weare played with-in the tyme of this Accompte, viz: paid the ſome of iiij xx xij li vjs viij d [£93 : 6 : 8] /

Item paid to the ſaid John Heminges vpon the lyke warrant, dated att Whitehall xx^o die Maij 1613, for preſenting ſixe severall

¹ leaf 47, back.

² 1 *Henry IV*, or *Merry Wives*. See *The Hotſpur* in the next entry.

³ *Julius Cæſar*.

playes, viz: one playe called a badd beginininge (*sic*) makes a good endinge, One other called *the Capteyne*, One other the Alcumist./ One other Cardenno / One other *The Hotspur*¹ / And one other called *Benedicte and Betteris*², All played within the tyme of this Accompte Yet Cowncells viz: paid ffortie powndes, And by waye of his Majesties warrant. rewarde twentie powndes, In all lx li.

‘all-to’: *adv.* *Pericles*, III. ii. 17 (the *to* is in fact the intensive prefix of the verb following). “*Verberibus cœsum te in pistrinum, dedam usque ad necem.* I will all to currie thee, or bethwacke thy coate, and then put thee in bridwell, to drawe at the mill so long as thou liuest.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 17, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598). “*Crotté en Archediacre.* Dagged vp to the hard heeles, extreamly bedurtied, all to be-dabled; (Belike when this phrase came first in vse, Archdeacons trudged vp and downe on foot).”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘Avaunt’! *Errors*, IV. iii. 80, &c. &c. “*Devant.* (Interject.) Vsed, as our avaunt, in the driving away of a dog.”—Cotgrave.

‘baggage’: *sb.*, *Rom. & Jul.*, III. v. 157. “*Bagasse:* *f.* A Baggage, Queane, Iyll, Punke, Flirt.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘bless’: ‘God bless you!’ *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 160. “*Dieu vous y aide.* (To one that sneezeth) God blesse you.”—1611; Cotgrave.

‘bottle of hay’: *Mids. N. Dr.*, IV. i. 37. *Manipola*, a handfull, a gripe, a bundle, a bottell. “*Manipolo, Manipulo,* a handfull, a bottle of haie, a wad of straw, a gripe, a bundle.”—1598; Florio. *Mazzo*, a heape, a masse, a lump, a bundle, a sheefe, a bottle or wad of straw.—1598; Florio.

‘bouncing’: *adj. Midsr. N. Dr.*, II. i. 70. “In very truth there is a iolly bouncing boy borne unto Pamphilus: now I pray God send him long to liue, because he hath so honest a man to his father.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 51, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘brabble’: *Tw. Night*, V. 68, &c. “and now, for me a stranger, to goe follow sutes & brabbles in law: how easie and profitable a matter were that for me to doe here, euen the examples of other doe foreshew mee.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 85, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

¹ *1 Henry IV.*

² *Much Ado.*

APPENDIX III.

ON THE CONFUSION OF TIME IN THE *MERRY WIVES.*

BY R. GRANT WHITE, ESQ.

(Reprinted from his Shakespeare, ii. 200-2.)

. . . in the perfected play, and also in the early Quarto, Page asks the whole party that comes in after the search for Falstaff, who has been carried out in the buck-basket, to go a birding with him "to-morrow." Now although that invitation was given at dinner-time (about eleven o'clock in Shakespeare's time, as this very comedy shows us) on the day of Falstaff's first visit to Mrs Ford, we shall see that, in both Quarto and Folio, he makes his second visit to Mrs Ford on the same day, and yet that Ford, having accepted Page's invitation, diverts his friends from their sport to interrupt Falstaff's interview with his wife, which, according to the Folio, took place between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. Shakespeare is sometimes forgetful of the limits of time; but he never openly disregards them, even when they are without importance as conditions of the plot. In this case, however, the very action of the play hinged upon punctuality; and in the perfected play, he skilfully concealed an error, to eradicate which would have cost more labor than he cared to bestow. For in the Quarto we see Falstaff come puffing in from his involuntary bath immediately after the conversation at Ford's which follows the unsuccessful search,—and this is the natural succession of events. Now it is remarkable that it is in this very Scene (III. v.), in both Quarto and Folio, that Mrs Quickly enters with the appointment for the second interview with Mrs Ford, and also that it is from the interview in this very Scene with Master Brook, who treads on Mrs Quickly's

heels¹, that, both in Quarto and Folio, Falstaff hastens to keep that appointment, lest he should be too late. In both Quarto and Folio, too, Ford follows Falstaff immediately, and meeting his men with the buck-basket at the door, stays them, assuring his friends that somebody was carried out in it “yesterday.” But in the Folio the interview between Fenton and Anne Page, upon which Shallow and Slender, and, finally, Page and his wife, intrude, is made to precede Falstaff’s second interviews with Master Brook and Mrs Quickly, instead of following them, as in the Quarto,—thus serving the double purpose of prolonging the apparent time, and of obscuring the memory of the former events by the intrusion of a new interest, and so at once promoting a desirable forgetfulness and affording relief to Falstaff’s humor. More than this:—in the Folio we have the Scene of the Pedagogue introduced for the purpose of farther separating the Scene in which Falstaff receives his second invitation from the entertainment to which he is invited. Dr Johnson thought this not only “a very trifling Scene,” but “of no use to the plot.” It is not surprising that he failed to appreciate its characteristic humor; but before he condemned it as valueless, should he not have examined a little more closely into the need of it?

The result of these two manœuvres is, that in the perfected play the important incongruity ceases to be palpable. The intention of the author is still farther apparent in a change of the day named by Mrs Quickly for the second meeting, and of two hours in the time appointed. In the Quarto, where the Scene of the buck-basket is followed immediately by that in which the second invitation is given, it is for “to-morrow between ten and eleven”; but in the Folio, where those Scenes are widely separated, it is for “this morning” and “between eight and nine”; and yet, in both Quarto and Folio, Mrs Quickly’s second visit is made on the same day—that of the buck-basket;—for Falstaff of course got home from Dachet Mead as fast as his fat legs would carry him, and he hardly gets his breath before Mrs Quickly enters. In the Quarto, also, Page asks the disappointed Ford and his friends “to dinner” on the next day, adding “in the

¹ The “night” (II. ii. 296) on which Brook was to come to Falstaff cannot be got into Act III. sc. v. even by supposing that Falstaff sat up all night.—F.

morning we'll a birding"; but in the Folio he invites them "to breakfast" and says "after we'll a birding." Though this confusion was important enough to Shakespeare the playwright thus to conceal it, how insignificant the error is to us in comparison with its value as furnishing evidence of the haste with which the play was written, and of the labor bestowed upon it to bring it to its present state, and as adding strong confirmation to the testimony of tradition that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is Queen Elizabeth's comedy.

'*brag*': *vb.* (& *brag*, *adj.* proud; *jay, sb.*) *Venus*, 113, &c. "*Ornatu alterius induitur*. He hath gotten on him an other mans cloaths. The iangling Gay is **bragge** of the peacock's feathers. For we may vse this as a proverbe, against such as **bragge** of that which is none of their owne."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 109, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'*by*': (as in 'by-paths,' 2 *Hen. IV.*, IV. v. 185). "And now they faine betwixt themselues an odde by peece of craft, that this Glycerie is a freeborne woman of Athens."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 19, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'*carbonado*': *sb.* 1 *Hen. IV.*, V. iii. 61. "*Incarbonare*, to broile vpon the coales, to make a **carbonado**. *Incarbonata*, a **carbonado** of broyled meate, a rasher on the coales."—1598; Florio.

'*casual*': *Hamlet*, V. ii. 393. "But hoe Syr, see to it.. if such a thing as this is, shall perchance befall to him at any time: as humane things are **casuall**. [Si quid huius simile, forte aliquando evenerit, Vt sunt humana.]"—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 226, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'*changeling*': *Mids. N. Dr.*, IV. i. 64. "*Puer supponitur*. It's a **changeling** or counterfeit child."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 112, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'*coil*': *Tempest*, I. ii. 207, &c. "*Faire le diable de Vauvert*. To keepe an old **coyle**, horrible bustling, terrible swaggering: to play monstrous reakes, or raks-iakes."—Cotgrave, u. *Diable*.

'*controlment*': 'without controlment,' *M. Ado*, I. iii. 21 (*Titus*, II. i. 68). "*Impune hoc facit*, He doth this without **controlment**. Thers no fault found with him, or, he is not punished for this he doth."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 101, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'*drown*': *Tempest*, V. i. 207-8. "*Qui a à pendre, n'a pas à noyer*: Prov. Hee thats borne to be hanged, needs feare no drowning."—1611; Cotgrave.

‘excellent’: *adj.* excelling. “*Mulier egregiā formā & integrā cætate.* A woman of **excellent** beautie, and in her best life, or flowre of her age, nothing broken.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 12, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘familiarity’: *All’s Well*, V. ii. 3. “he, that vpon small acquaintance and **familiaritie**, takes this womans death so to heart, what if he had loued her himselfe?”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 10, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598) (familiarly, p. 11).

‘fleer at’: *Much Ado*, V. i. 58. “shall we suffer him to get away so much money from vs, to **fleere and geere** at vs in euery corner? I’ll die first.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 449, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘fustian’: *adj. Tw. N.*, II. v. 119. “*Monelle*, a roguish or **fustian** word, a word in pedlers French, signifying wenches, strumpets or whores.”—1598; Florio.

‘galled’: *adj. Hamlet*, III. ii. 253. “*Pelato*, puld, pluckt the feathers off, skalded or singed as a hog, vnskinned, puld off the haire or skinne, **galled**, pilled, pared, or prouled.”—1598; Florio.

‘hand’: ‘out of hand.’ *3 Hen. VI.*, IV. vii. 63. “Stay a little if you will: the maidens brother will he here **out of hand** [he went to fetch the nurse].”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 174, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘hang’: ‘go hang yourselves.’ *Tw. N., Shrew.* “Get thee away quickly, and **goe hang thy selfe.**”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 24, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘have with you’: ‘I’ll go with you.’ *My. Wives*, II. i. 161, &c. &c. “*In quovis tibi loco paratus sum.* I am readie for you in any place: put but vp the finger where you will, and **haue with you.**”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 78, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘heels’: ‘take my heels.’ *Err.*, I. ii. 94. “Marrie, I would very gladly you had a sling, that you might from this place secretly hurle at them aloofe, till they **take their heele.**”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 167, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘hugger-mugger, in’: *Hamlet*, IV. v. 84. “*Sous la courtine.* Secretly, closely, priuately, vnderhand, in corners, in **hugger-mugger.**”—1611; Cotgrave. (And see Wheatley’s Dict. of Reduplicated Words, *Philolog. Soc. Trans.*, 1865.)

‘impasted’: *Hamlet*, II. ii. 481. “*Ital. Impastato*, impasted or raied with dirte.”—1548, ed. 1567. Wm Thomas. *Italian Grammar.*

AN AVNCIENT
Historie and exquifite Chronicle
*of the Romanes warres, both
Ciuite and Foren.*

Written in Greeke by the noble Orator and Histo-
riographer, *Appian of Alexandria*, one of the learned
Counfell to the moft mightie Emperoures,
Traiane and Adriane.

In the which is declared :

*Their greedy desire to conquere others.
Their mortall malice to destroy themselues.
Their seeking of matters to make warre avroade.
Their picking of quarels to fall out at home.
All the degrees of Sedition, and all the effects of Ambition.
A firme determination of Fate, thorowe all the changes
of Fortune.
And finally, an evident demonstration, That peoples
rule must giue place, and Princes power preuayle.*

With a continuation¹ bicause that parte
of *Appian* is not extant, from the death of *Sextus
Pompeius*, fecond fonne to *Pompey the Great*,
till the ouerthrow of *Antonie and Cleo-
patra*, after the which time, *Octavianus Cæsar*,
had the Lordship of all, alone.

Βασιλίδη χράτιστη,² δεσπότιδι τ'
ἐπικέστατη.²

IMPRINTED AT LONDON
by Raufe Newbery, and
Henrie Bynniman.
Anno. 1578.

¹ continuation is continuacion in original.
² $\tau\eta$ in original.

APPENDIX IV.

APPIAN'S CIVIL WARS, 1578.

Extract from the Second Book, p. 152.

THE Counsell being thus broken vp, there were some that perswaded *Lucius Piso*, to whome *Cæsar* had left his Testamente, that it should neyther be brought forthe, nor his body buryed openly, least it mighte breed some newe tumult in the Citie. He being otherwise minded, was threatned to be called to aunswer, for that he defrauded the people of such substance due to the common treasure, once agayne making signification of Tyrannie. Then *Piso* cryed as lowde as he could, praying the Consuls that were yet present to goe to counsell againe, and sayde: They that haue affirmed that one Tyrant is taken away, they in steede of that one be all Tyrants vnto vs, forbidding me to bury an holy Priest, and threaten me if I bring forth his last will. They make confiscation of his goodes, as of a Tirant. His actes that maketh for them they ratifie, but those that he hath left for himselfe they reuoke, not *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but they that did incense them to this mischiefe. Of his Sepulture be you Lordes, of his Testament I will be, and shall not suffer him to be deceyued in my trust of faith, before some man taketh away my breath.

Much stirre and businesse did rise of this among them all, and specially by them that supposed to get somewhat by his Testament: therefore it was thought conuenient that his Testament should be brought abroade, and that his body shoulde be buryed openly, and so the Councell rose. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding of this, did send to the multitude to call them to the Capitoll, and when many came running thither with greate hast, *Brutus* sayd thus:—"Nowe, O Citizens, we be heere with you that yesterday were in the common court, not as men fleeyng to the Temple that haue done amisse, nor as to a fort, having committed all wee haue to you, but the sharpe &

strange mishap of *Cinna* haue compelled vs thus to do. We haue herd what hath bin obiected against vs of oure enimies touching the oth, and touching cause of doubt *that* in peace can be no suretie. What we haue to say herein with you, O Citizens, we will conferre with whome we haue to do concerning other common matters. When Caius Cæsar from France inuaded his Countrey with enimies armes, and Pompey, a singulare fauourer of the people, had suffered, as

^x [p. 153] euery man^l knoweth, after hym a number of good Citizens wente into *Iberia & Libya* & were destroyed. We at his desire gaue him security, and as it should seeme afrayde of himselfe, seking to make his Tyranny sure, we sware vnto it. If he had required vs to swere not only to confirme the things past, but also to haue bene hys slaues in time to come, what woulde they then haue done that nowe lie in wayte for our liues? I suppose verye *Romaines* indeede wyll rather choose certaine death, as they haue oft done, than by an othe to abyde willing seruitude. If *Cæsar* hitherto haue gone aboute nothing to make vs seruile, we confesse we haue broken our othe: but if neyther offices in the Citie, nor prouinces in the country, nor armies, nor dignities of the church, nor assigning of inhabitancke, nor other honours be left to vs, or had the consent of the Senate, or the allowance of the people, but did all by his owne commaundement; if his ambition was never satiate, as Syllas was, who, when he had overthrown his enimies, restored to vs the common wealth; if he, making another armye for a long time, toke awaye our election for fife yeares, what libertie was this, when no hope coulde appeare? What should we say of the peoples chiefe officers, *Sesetius* and *Marullus*; were they not with contumely thrust from the sacred & inuiolate offices? and where the lawe and othe of our auncestours do not suffer any action to be made against the Tribunes, yet *Cæsar* banished them and shewed no cause: whither then haue offended against the holy Tribunes, we, or *Cæsar*? being a sacred and inuiolate man, to whom, not willingly, but of necessitie, we graunted these things, nor before he came agaynst his country in armour and had killed so many noble Citizens. The office of the Tribunes cannot be holy nor inuiolated, to the whiche our fathers in time of common welth dyd sweare without compulsion, with intent to haue it euerlasting. The reuenewe and

accomp of the Empire, where became it? who brake open the Treasure house against our wills? who caught the money vntouched and vnremouable? who thretned death to the Tribune that resisted him? but what oth (saye they) shall be sufficient to preserue peace? if

[^r p. 154] there be no Tyranne there needes no oth: our^r forefathers neuer had neede of anye. But if any other wil aspire to tyrannie, there is no fayth, no not with an othe, between the Romaines and a Tiranne. Thus we speake now in perill, and will euer speake it for our country, for being in honoure and safety with *Cæsar*, we preferred the honour of our countrey before our owne. Wel they vse calumniaition againste vs, and stirre you for the habitations. If here be any present, eyther *that* hath, or shalbe appointed to those inhabitance, I pray you do so much at my request as giue a token of your selues." Many dyd so: then sayde he, "Oh, well done (good men) that you become to do as other do, and it is conuenient that you which indifferentlie doe trauayle and laboure for youre countrey, shoulde receyue equal reward of the same. The people of *Rome* did appoint you to *Cæsar* againste the English and French men: it is therefore reason, that hauing done good seruice, you receyue as good rewards. But he bound you with oths and vnwillingly led you against the Citie: he led you likewise against the beste Citizens in *Libya*: likewise against your wils. If your trauayle had ben only in this, paradynture you would haue bin ashamed to aske recompence: but the service that you did in France and England, no enuie, no time, no obliuion of man, can put out of memorie: and for these, the beste recompence which the people was wont to giue to the old souldiers,—not taking away mens landes or houses that had not offended, nor giuing to one that was an others, nor thinking they ought to recompence with iniustice, nor when they had conquered their enimies, to take away all their land, but made a particion, and appointed some of their souldiers to dwel there as a garrison for the conquered places; and many times when the Land that was won wold not suffise, they eyther diuided of the common, or bought more of newe: So did the people place you without any others displeasure. But *Sylla* and *Cæsar*, who inuaded their countrey as enimyes, hauing need of garde & garison vpon theyr countrey, dyd neyther send you to liue in any

of your owne countryes, nor bought any land for you, nor bestowed that vpon you that they had got from other, nor vpon composition re-

[^t p. 155] stored the ho^lnours on them from whome they were taken, althoughe they had the treasure and conquered lande, but toke from *Italy*, that had not offendèd nor done any thing amisſe, by lawe of warre, or rather of robbery, lands, houses, Sepulchres, and Temples, which we would not take from our greatest strange enimyees, only setting a taxe of the tenth part vpon them: but they haue made diuision to you of that which was your owne countreymens, and them that sente you to serue *Cæsar* in the Frenche wars, and made many vowes for your victories, and appointed you by companies to conuenient dwelling places, with ensignes and discipline of souldiours: so as you can neyther enioye peace nor be sure of them that be thrust out, for who so euer is put out and spoyled of hys owne, he will remaine to spie a time for to be euen with you. This was the cause why the Tirannes would not let you haue any land which mighthe haue bene giuen you by other meanes, that, hauing euer enimies that laye in wayte, you shoulde be sure kepers of their power, whiche by iniustice did continewe yours. For the good will that Tirans haue of their garde is that they be as far in doing wrong and feare as themselues. And this they (O God) do cal a cohabitation, whereby lament of countreymen mighthe be made, and insurrection of them that haue done no wrong; & they for this purpose haue made vs enimies to our own countreyfolke for their singular profit, & we, whom now the chiefe officers of the countrey do say they saue vs for mercies sake, do confirme presently, & herafter wil confirme the same to be bond to you for euer, of the which we take god to witnessse that ye haue & shal haue al you haue had, & that none shall take it from you: not *Brutus*, not *Cassius*, not they that for your liberties haue put al their selues in peril; & we that be only accused in this matter will saue our selues, and be to you & to your allied friends a special comfort, and that that is most pleasant to you to heare. At the first occasion that shal be offered we wil giue you the price for the land that is taken from other of the common reuenew, that you shall not onely haue your setting setled, but also voyde of all encombraunce."

Whiles *Brutus* thus spake, al the hearers, considering with themselves that he spake nothing but right, did like them wel, & as

[¹p. 156] ¹ men of courage and louers of the people, had them in great admiration, and were turned into their fauour, and determined to doe them good the next day, whiche being come, the Consuls called the people to an assembly, and repeated the opinions.

Cicero. Then *Cicero* did speake very much in the prayse of This forgetful- forgetting of iniurie, of the which they rejoiced, and led *Annestia*, called *Brutus* and *Cassius* from the Temple. They desired after the ma- pledges, to whom *Lepidus* & *Antonies* sonnes were sente. nner of the *Grecians.* When *Brutus* & *Cassius* were seene, there was such a *Brutus* and *Cassius* recon- noyse, as the Consuls, that would haue sayde somewhat, siled with the Consulles.

When *Brutus* & *Cassius* were seene, there was such a noyse, as the Consuls, that would haue sayde somewhat, could not be suffered, but wer first required to shake hands and be at one, which they dyd. And the Consuls mindes were troubled with feare or enuye, that these men and their friends should preuayle in that common cause. Then was *Cæsar's* testament *Cæsars testa-* with the writings for the disposition of his goods brought forth, which the people commaunded to be red. There was *Octauius*, *Octauius.* his nephew by his sister's daughter, found to be his sonne by adoption. His gardings were giuen the people for solace, and to This drammē euerye Citizen of *Rome* that was present seauentie fwe was the value of a grotē. drammes of Athens. Now was the people streyght turned to anger, being abused by the name of a Tyranne, that in hys testament had shewed most loue to his country. And one thing

Decimus Brutus seemed most to be pitied, that *Decimus Brutus*, one of the *Brutus* heyre to *Cæsar* in re- killers, was made his sonne among his second heyres : for maynder.

The *Romaines* maner was, to their first heyres to adde the second, *that* if the first take not, the second may. With this they were much troubled, thinking it a wicked and abhominable act, that *Decimus* should conspire against *Cæsar*, whome hee had made one of his children.

Piso brought forth *Cæsar's* body, to the which infinit numbers in armes ran to kepe it, & with much noyse & pompe brought it to the place of speech. There was much lamentation & weeping, ther was rushing of harnesse togither, with repentaunce of the forgetting of reuengeance. *Antony*, marking how they were affected, did not let it

slippe, but toke vpon him to make *Cæsars* funeral sermon, as Consul of a Consul, friend of a friend, & kinsman of a kinsman (for [p. 157] *Antony* was partly his kinsman), and to ¹ vse craft againe. And thus he said :

Antony of Cæsar. “ I do not thinke it meete (O Citizens) that the buriall praise of suche a man should rather be done by me than by the whole country. For what you haue altogither for the loue of hys vertue giuen him by decree, as well the Senate as the people, I thinke your voice, and not *Antonies*, oughte to expresse it.”

This he vttered with sad and heauy cheare, and wyth a framed voice declared euerything, chiefly vpon the decree, whereby he was made a God, holy & inuiolate, father of the country, benefactor and gouernor, and suche a one as neuer in al things they entituled other man to the like. At euery of these words *Antonie* directed his countenance & hands to *Cæsar's* body, and with vehemencie of words opened the fact. At euery title he gaue an addition, with briefe speach, mixte with pitie and indignation. And when the decree named him father of the Country, then he saide, “ *This is the testimony of our dutye.*”

And at these wordes, *holy, inuiolate, and vntouched, and the refuge of all other*, he said, “ None other made refuge of hym. But he, *this holy and vntouched,* is kylled, not takyng honoure by violences whiche he never desired, and then be we verye thrall that bestowe them on the vnworthy, neuer suing for them. But you doe purge your selues (O Citizens) of this vnkindnesse, in *that* you nowe do vse suche honoure towarde hym being dead.”

Then rehearsing the othe, that all shoule keepe *Cæsar* and *Cæsars* body, and if any one wente about to betraye hym, that they were accursed that would not defende him ; at this he extolled hys voice, and helde vp his handes to the Capitoll, saying,

“ O *Jupiter*, Countries defendour, and you other Gods I am ready to reuenge, as I sware and made execration ; and when it seemes good to my companions to allowe the decrees, I desire them to aide me.” At these plaine speeches spoken agaynst the Senate, an vproare being made, *Antony* waxed colde, and recanted hys wordes. “ It seemeth (O Citizens), saide hee, that the things done haue not bin the

worke of men but of Gods, and that we ought to haue more consideration of the present than of the past, bycause the things to come

[^r p. 158] maye bring vs to greater ¹danger than these we haue, if we shall returne to oure olde, and waste the reste of the noble men that be in the Cittie. Therfore let vs send thys holy one to the number of the blessed, and sing to him his due hymne and mourning verse."

Antonies gesture in the time of the funerall of Cæsar. When he had saide thus, he pulled vp his gowne lyke a man beside hymselfe, and gyrded it, that he might the better stirre his handes; he stooode ouer the litter as from a Tabernacle, looking into it, and opening it, and firste sang his Himne, as to a God in heauen. And to confirme he was a God, he held vp his hands, and, with a swift voice, he rehersed the warres, the fights, the victories, the nations that he had subdued to his countrey, and the great booke that he had sent, making every one to be a maruell. Then with a continuall crie,

"This is the only vnconquered of all that euer came to hands with hym. Thou (quoth he) alone diddest reuenge thy countrey, being iniured 300 years, & those fierce nations that onely inuaded *Rome*, & only burned it, thou broughtest them on their knees."

And when he had made these and many other inuocations he tourned hys voice from triumphe to mourning matter, and began to lament and mone him as a friend that had bin vniustly vsed, & did desire that he might giue hys soule for *Cæsars*. Then falling into moste vehement affections, vncouered *Cæsar's* body, holding vp his vesture with a speare, cut with the woundes, and redde with the bloude of the chiefe Ruler, by the which the people, lyke a Quire, did sing lamentation vnto him, and by this passion were againe replete with ire. And after these speeches, other lamentations wyth voice, after the country custome, were sung of the Quires, and they rehearsed again his acts & his hap.

Then made he *Cæsar* hymselfe to speake as it were in a lamentable sort, to howe many of his enimies he hadde done good by name, & of the killers themselues, to say as in an admiration, "Did I sauе them that haue killed me?" This the people could not abide, calling to remembraunce that all the kyllers (only *Decimus* except) were of

Pompey's faction, and subdued by hym ; to whom, in stead of punishment, he had giuen promotion of offices, gouernments of prouinces &

[^{1 p 159]} armies, & thought *Decimus* worthy to be made his ¹heyre & son by adoption, and yet conspired hys death. While the matter was thus handled, and like to haue come to a fray, one shewed out *Cæsar's* shape of the Litter the Image of Cæsar, made of waxe, for hys shewed in waxe. body it selfe, lying flat in the Litter, could not be seene.

Hys picture was by a deuise turned about, & xxijj wounds wer shewed ouer al his body, & his face horrible to behold. The people, seeing this pittifull picture, coulde beare the dolour no longer, but

Change of peoples minds. thronged togyther, and beset the Senate house, wherein

The Senate house set a fire wherein Cæsar was killed. Cæsar was kylled, and set it a fyre ; and the kyllers, that fledde for their liues, they ranne and sought in euery place, and that so outrageouslye, both in anger and dolour,

One Cynna killed another. as they kylled Cynna the Tribune, being in name lyke to Cynna the Pretor that spake euill of Cæsar, and wold not tarry to heare the declaration of his name, but cruelly tore him a peeces, and lefte not one parte to be put in graue.

Tumulte and rage of people. They caried fire against other mens houses, who manlye defending themselues,

and the neighbours entreating them, they refrayned from fyre, but threatned to be in armes the next day. Wherefore the strikers hid themselues, and fled out of the Citie. The people returned to the litter, and caried it as an holye thing, to be buried in an holy place among the Gods, but bicause the Priests did deny it, they brought him againe into the common place, where the Pallace of the old kings were, and there, with al the boords & tymber which they could find in the place, which was muche, beside that euery man broughte of himselfe, with garlandes and other gifts of priuate persons, makynge a solemne shew, they burned² the body, and

Cæsar's funeral. abode al night about the fyre. In the whiche place at the first was made an Altare, but nowe there is a temple of *Cæsar*,

A Temple to Cæsar. where he is thought worthy diuine honors. For his son Octavius, taking the name of *Cæsar*, & disposing the state by election, Octauius, after his example, which then takyng the beginning, & he exceedingly aduancing to the degree it is now, did thinke his father to deserue

² buried in original.

honors equal with the Gods, the which at this time, hauing their
 The Romaines originall, *the Romaines* now vse to giue the same to hym
 vsed to giue diuine hon- that ruleth the estate, vnlesse he be a Tyranne or dif-
 ours to their princes. famed at his death, that in olde time could not suffer the
 name of a kyng alyue.

^{¶ p. 160]} ¹Thus *Cæsar* was killed, on the day which they cal the Ides in Marche, Ides of Marche, whiche daye of the Moneth the Soothsayer sayde hee shoulde not passe; at the whiche he in the first 7 daies, morning mocked him, saying, "the Ides be come!" to whome he aunswered boldlye againe, "but they be not yet gone."

Cæsar scorn- Thus hee, despising as well the foresayings of this
 eth the Sooth- constant soothsayer, as all other tokens spoken of before,
 saiers. went abroad, & was killed the lvi yere of his age. A man most
 happy & fortunate in al his noble actions, & most like vnto *Alexander*
 A comparison betwene *Alex-* the great—for they both were very ambitious and valiant,
 ander and *Cæsar*. and swifte to execute their enterpryses, in perils moste
 bolde, of their bodies most carelesse, and did not more trust in soldiours
 seruice than in courage and fortune—of the which the one, in the
 heate of sommer, through places voide of water, went to *Ammon*, and

Ammon, in the ranne ouer the gulfe of *Pamphilia*, of the crosse surgyng
 deserts of *Aegipt*, where Sea, fortune stayng the ragyng waues whiles he passed,
Jupiter gaue and sendyng hym rayne when he wente by lande, he

In India at assayde the *Indian* Sea that was not Nauigable. He was
 the place called *Mauri*. the firste that scaled a town, and alone mounted the
Pamphilia in *Asia* the lesse. enemies wall, & alone receyued xij woundes on his body;
 euer inuincible, and alwayes getting victory at the first or the second
 Battayle. He subdued manye barbarous nations in *Europe*, and ouer-
Alexanders acts. came the *Grecians*, a valiant people, and louing libertie,
 and before him obeying none but *Philip*, & that a litle whyle, for an
 honour to appeare in his feates of warre. *Asia* (as a man may say) he
 ranged all ouer, and, briefly for to tell his fortune and Empire, as
 much land as he saw he gotte. And conceyuing and determining a
 conquest of the rest in his mind, he was destroyed.

To *Cæsar* the *Ionian* sea gaue place in the middest of winter; and
 shewed it selfe caulme to his nauigation. He also sayled the Bryt-
Cæsar's actes. taine Ocean, not attempted before, and, fallyng vpon the

rockes of Englande, he bad the shipmayster runne a shore and slitte their shippes. In an other sea, striuing with the stremme alone in the night in a little boate, he badde the Mayster let the sayles go to the winde, and trust more in *Cæsar's* fortune than in the Sea.

[^{t. p. 161}] Against his enimies alone he hath lepte many tymes,¹ and all the reste haue bin afraide. He alone did fighte with the Frenche thirtie times, til he had subdued fourtie nations of them, whiche were so terrible to the Romaines, as olde and holy men by lawe were

Al ages and degrees must striue against the french. priuiledged from warre, except when the French enimie came, for then both horse and olde men muste go foorth.

At *Alexandria*, being left alone to fight on the bridge, and beset on euyer side, he threwe off his purple, and leapte into the sea, and being sought of hys ennimies, he diued in the bottome a greate while, and only sometime rose to take breath, til a friendly shippe came nighe hym, to whome he helde vp his hands, shewed himselfe, and was sauued.

Falling into the ciuell wars, eyther for feare (as he did say) or for desire of rule, hee didde matche wyth the valiauntest Captaines in his tyme, in many and great battailes, not *Barbarians* onelye, but also Romaines, which in manhoode and fortune dydde excel, and ouercame Cæsar had losse some-tymes. them all, eyther at the firste or at the seconde battaile.

Hys armye not being inuincible as *Alexanders*, for in *France*, *Cotta*, and *Titurus* hys lieutenants were evidently ouercome with a great losse, and in *Spaine*, *Petreius* and *Afranius* helde hym besieged. In *Dyrrachio* and *Libya* they fled fowly awaye, and in *Spaine* they were afraide of young *Pompey*. But *Cæsar* himselfe was euer voide of feare, and in the ende of euerye warre had the victorie.

Euphrates, a floud of Macedonia, running into the rede sea by Babylon. The Romaine Empire, from the weaste to the floude *Euphrates*, by force or by fayre meanes he obtayned, muche surer and stronger than *Sylla*.

He shewed hymselfe to be a king in spight of them al, though he woulde not receiue the name. And he also, hauing made determinacion of other warre, was taken away. Besyde forth, their armies were alike: prompte to them bothe with a beneuolente minde; and in sighte, of lyke fiercenesse; disobedient many times to them both,

and ful of sedition for their long laboures. Neuerthelesse, when they were deade, bothe after one sorte did lament and mone, and thought them worthy diuine honors. They were both in body of good com-

[¹p. 162] plexion and fayre: bothe of them hadde ¹their petigree *Cæsar and Alexander* alyke, from *Jupiter*: *Alexander* from *Aeacide* and *Hercules*, and *Cæsar* from *Anchises* and *Venus*. As both were desirous to conquere with whome they contended, so easy to be entreated and to forgiue them whom they had subdued, and, beside forgiuenesse, woulde do them good also, seeking nothing else but victory.

Thus farre they were alyke, but in rising to their rule they were *Alexander and Cæsar* vnylike, not of lyke power: for the one rose from a Kingdome encreased by hys father *Phillip*, the other from a priuate estate, yet noble and renoumed, and very needy of mony. Of tokens, whiche to them both were great, they were alyke contemnners, yet neyther of them angrye wyth the Diuiners that didde foreshewe their death. The tokens were like many times to them both, & to like effect. Twice to them bothe were vnluckye signes, in the whiche These people be of India, and called *Malli of Plutarch*. the first shewed to them both doubtfull danger. *Alexander*, among the *Oxidianes*, scaling the wall before the *Macedonians*, being vtterly destitute by breaking of the ladders, leapte boldly among hys enemies within, where he was sore hurt in the breast & in the necke, and beaten down with Perill of *Alexander*. a mighty mace, so as he was hardly sau'd by the *Macedonians*, that for very shame burste open the gates. *Cæsar*, in *Spaine*, when his armye was very feareful of *Pompey* the young, and refused to go to the fight, ran betweene them both and receyued ijC darteres vpon his Target, his armye ran in for feare and shame and sau'd hym. So the first vnlucky sacrifices didde signifie perill of death to them both, and the seconde, death it selfe indeede.

Pythagoras, a Soothsayer, tolde *Apollodorus*, that was afraide of *Alexander* & *Ephestion*, that he shoulde not neede to feare, for by the sacrifice he found that both of them shoulde shortly bee dead. And comming to passe, that *Ephestion* died by and by after, *Apollodorus* was afraide that some treason had bin wroughte againste the king, and tolde hym what the Soothsaier had sayde; he smiled, and asked of *Pythagoras* what the token did pretende; he aunswere,

"the laste day," whereat he smyled agayne, and thanked *Apollodorus* of hys faithfulnessse, and the Soothsayer of his confidence. To

[¹ p. 168] *Cæsar* (as we haue sayde) the laste tyme that hee ¹wente into the Senate the same tokens happened. Whereat he laughed and saide, The like was seene in *Spaine*; and when the Diuinour aunswere, that then he was in daunger, but nowe the token signifieth more certaine death; then relenting somewhat to this free speeche, he sacrificed againe, till he tarryed so long aboute the sacrifices that he was angry, and went in and was kylled.

The like happened to *Alexander* when he came from *India* to *Babylon* with his armye, where being nigh the *Chaldeans* exhorted hym to refraine at this presente, to whome hee rehearsed a verse:

"The best Prophet is he that coniectureth honestly."

Then the *Chaldeans* warned hym the second tyme not to go wyth his army on the weast side, but to compasse & take the City on the ^{Alexander con-} Easte, and stay there; with that (they say) he was contemneth tokens. content, and beganne to go about, but being angry at the moory and fenny way he contemned the seconde warning, and went ^{Euphrates &} in at the Weaste. Then he sayled vpon *Euphrates* to the ^{Pallacotta} floudes. floud *Pallacotta* that receyueth *Euphrates*, and runneth into the Fennes, whereby *Assyria* is kept from ouerflowing. He minded to haue defended thys floud with a wall, and whiles he was sayling vpon it they say he scorned the *Chaldeans* bycause he safely had entred *Babylon*, and was come forth againe to saile, but it was but deferred till he came againe, for then he dyed out of hande.

^{Cæsar con-} The lyke contempt *Cæsar* seemed to vse, for the temneth tokens.

Soothsayers hadde appoyneted the daye of hys death, and saide hee shoulde not passe the Ides of March: & when that day was come he laughed at hym, and sayd, the Ides were come, but that very day he was kylled. Both they despised the Prophesies alyke, but were not angry with the Prophets, yet they both dyed, as they were tolde. They were both studious of learning and vertue, as wel of their own country as of Greek & other strangers. *Alexander* de-

[² p. 164] lighted in ² the *Brachmanes*, whiche among the *Indians* Brachmanes wer the wise Philosophers of *India*, be reputed moste learned and wise men, as the *Magies* among the *Persians*. *Cæsar* dealte with the *Aegip-*

chosen to it by *tians* when he put *Cleopatra* in hys kingdome, wherby he directed many ciuil things in *Rome*; & among other, he turned the order of the yeare, being without certaintie bycause of the odde moneths (for they measured it by the Moone), to the course of the Sunne, as the *Aegiptians* doe. It was hys happye that none dydde escape that soughte hys death, but by his heyre receyued worthye punishmente, as *Alexander* dydde them that kylled *Phillippe*, hys father. Howe that was done the booke in order shall declare.

The end of the second booke of Ciuill dissensions.

[p. 165]

The thirde Booke of Ciuill Dissention.

THUS C. *Cæsar*, that was most worthy of rule among the *Romaines*, was slayn of his enimies, & buried of the people. Of al his killers punishment, & how the best of them soonest receyued it, this Booke & the next shal declare, & likewise comprehend al the other Ciuill strifes that the *Romaines* had among themselues.

‘*in grain*’: *Errors*, III. ii. 108; and ‘*Vice*.’ “*Badin enfarine*: and *Badin sans farine*. A notable coxcombe, an Asse *in graine*; also, a foole, or Vice in a play.”—1611; Cotgrave. “*Badiner*. To play the foole, or Vice; to vse apish trickes and toyes; to tumble or iuggle; to trifle it in any way.”—ib.

‘*intercessor*’: *Merch. of Ven.*, III. iii. 16. “none appeacheth thee, Syrus; neither needes thou take sanctuarie for the matter, nor prouide a spokesman and an *intercessour*.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 257, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘*jar*’: ‘*at jar*,’ 2 *Hen. VI*, I. i. 253; IV. viii. 43. “How came you to know that they be *at iarre* betweene themselues?”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 57, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘*kickshaws*’: *Tw. Ni.*, I. iii. 122. “*Manicaretti*, minced small meates, daintie *quelquechooses*, fine sauces.”—1598; Florio.

‘*linger*’: *v. tr. Midsr. N's Dr.*, I. i. 4. “*Protrahit labori dies*. He prolongs and *lingers* the time. He makes no haste of his work.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 32, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

APPENDIX V.

CONTENTS OF THE GERMAN SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S YEAR BOOK,
OL. X.

BY F. D. MATTHEW.

THE German Shakespeare Society's Year Book opens with Herr Julius Thümmel's address, delivered at the annual meeting at Weimar in April, 1874, on Shakspere's children. Of these he counts sixteen. Arthur (*K. J.*), Lucius (*T. A.*), Moth (*L. L. L.*), and Edward Prince of Wales, are the most fully drawn. The others are Rutland (*H. VI.*), 2 sons of Edward IV. and 2 sons of Clarence (*R. III.*), Marcius (*Cor.*), Lucius (*J. C.*), the page in *Timon*, Robin and William Page (*M. W.*), Mamillius (*W. T.*), and Macduff's son. Herr Thümmel goes through the list one by one, pointing out the characteristics which distinguish each of them.

The yearly report has to tell of a small falling off in numbers. There are now 172 members, besides 52 purchasers of the Year Book.

Dr Herman Schaafhausen gives an account of the Kesselstadt mask, which he maintains is of Shakspere. It is a cast taken after death, and dated 1616. Its authentic history goes no further back than that it was bought at a ragshop, now unknown, in Mainz. But in the Kesselstadt collection at Mainz there was a picture which, tradition said, represented Shakspere, and which Dr Schaafhausen has satisfied himself is a portrait of Ben Jonson. The interest in English literature which led a Kesselstadt to acquire that portrait might lead him to get one of Shakspere, and, if this portrait which he may have had was the mask in question, it would account for its having been found at Mainz.

With regard to the evidence afforded by the mask itself, Dr Schaafhausen thinks it has no resemblance to the Stratford bust; but is like the Droeshout portrait. Still he does not rely chiefly on its agreement with known portraits, but on the fact that its nobleness of form answers to what we might expect in the head of Shakspere. Should we be afraid to rely on this evidence, there is an easy way of settling the question. We can dig up Shakspere's skull, and compare

the two. True, this may seem to offend against the letter of the epitaph,

Bleste be the man y^t spares thes stones
And curst be he y^t moves my bones.

" But there is no desecration in entrusting the noble remains of the poet to the enquiring eye of Science ; which will but learn something new from them, and place beyond doubt the value of another precious relic of him, and then restore them to the quiet of the grave."

Professor Delius's paper on the original text of *King Lear*, which follows, will be found translated in our Transactions above, p. 125.

K. Elze comes next, with a paper on Shakspere's character, and his way of looking at life.

In his private life Herr Elze supposes Shakspere to have been kindly and genial, but probably somewhat proud and independent, caring more for wealth and for position as a landed proprietor than for literary fame. In this, as in some other respects, he is like Scott, over whom he had the advantage, that while both could earn money, only Shakspere knew how to manage it when he had earned it. He must have been a man of steady purpose, not given to make undue claims for himself ; indeed, hating exaggeration in all forms, and always trying to see the actual truth of things. Only thus can he have learned that deep insight into the problems of life and thought which shows itself in his works, especially in the great plays of his later time.

As to his opinions on special points of religion and politics, they are hard, if not impossible, to come at. He was not a Catholic, but neither was he a dogmatic Protestant ; his view was large, tolerant, and worldly. So in politics, he cannot be claimed for any party ; he looks at all fairly, and, as in private morals, so in public, regards self-control and practical wisdom as the most admirable virtues. If he seems to have less regard for the middle class than for kings and nobles, it is because in his time it had less weight and importance than now. Even his well-marked patriotism does not interfere with his fairness ; he is as just to foreigners as to Englishmen. (I cannot help thinking that Professor Elze overlooks, out of sympathy, some prejudice against the French.) Finally he expresses his belief that Shakspere must have exercised himself in that self-control which he evidently prized above all instinctive goodness.

Freiherr von Friesen gives a study of Ben Jonson. He does justice to Jonson's great energy and ability, but says that he drew characteristics rather than character ; while his view of life is cynical and

wants ethical feeling. Of the masques, he says that they mark the transition from the national drama, for which Shakspere wrote, to a mere court drama, lower in its aims and tone. Whatever other causes may have worked to this end, the poets who helped towards it (and chief among them Ben Jonson as the ablest) must share the blame.

We have to thank Dr Wilhelm Wagner for a reprint of *Alcilia*, a collection of poems by an unknown author, which he has edited very carefully from the only perfect copy of the first edition (1595), which is in the Town Library at Hamburg. Dr Wagner points out one or two verbal resemblances between these poems and passages in *Romeo and Juliet*. He also notices two passages which he thinks were suggested by lines in the *Merchant of Venice*:

- ‘The fire of love is first bred in the eye,’
and
‘In meanest show the most affection dwells,
And richest pearls are found in simplest shells.’

The first he compares with the song in the casket scene,

‘It is engendered in the eyes ;’

the second with Bassanio’s speech following the song. We cannot suppose that Shakspere borrowed his thoughts from *Alcilia*. We must, therefore, decide that the author of *Alcilia* had seen the casket scene upon the stage. If this be so, the first form of the *Merchant of Venice* must be earlier than 1595.

Herr W. König contributes a paper on Shakspere’s poetical development and the succession of his plays. Herr König thinks that in the attempt to fix the relative dates of the plays too much attention has been paid to language, too little to the worth of the plays. By studying the idea of the play, and its poetical and dramatic treatment, we have a surer test of date than in style or versification.

It is impossible to abridge a paper which depends so much as this does on detail, and I will therefore content myself with giving Herr König’s list, only adding that he believes *Pericles*, *Titus Andronicus*, and the three parts of *Henry VI*, to be wholly the work of Shakspere.

1. Pericles	1585	9. Midsummer N. D.	1590
2. Henry VI, I.	1586	10. Henry VI, II. }	1588
3. Titus Andronicus	1587	11. Henry VI, III. }	1591
4. Taming of Shrew		12. Richard III }	1591
5. Comedy of Errors	1588	13. King John }	1592
6. Two Gentlemen	1589	14. Richard II	
7. Love’s Labours Lost	1589	15. All’s Well	1592-3
8. Romeo and Juliet	1590	Hamlet, first sketch }	1593

16. M. of Venice	1595	Pericles, Act 4.	
17. Henry IV, I. }	1596-7	28. King Lear	1604
18. Henry IV, II. }		29. Othello }	1605
19. Henry V	1598	30. Cymbeline }	
20. Merry Wives }	1598-9	31. Macbeth	1606
21. Much Ado }		32. Coriolanus	1606
22. As You Like It	1599	33. Antony and Cleopatra	1607
23. Twelfth Night }	1600, 1601	34. Timon of Athens }	1608
24. Hamlet }		35. Troilus and Cressida }	
25. Julius Cæsar	1601-2	36. Winter's Tale }	1609, 1610
26. Henry VIII	1602-3	37. Tempest }	
27. Measure for Measure	1603		

A paper by W. König, jun., follows on Shakspere and Voltaire. This not only gives a good account of Voltaire's writings about Shakspere, it also traces the influence which the study of Shakspere had on Voltaire's own plays. Thus he thinks that the introduction of a ghost in *Eriphyle*, and again in *Semiramis*, is borrowed from *Hamlet*. *Zaïre* is founded upon *Othello*, but the pocket-handkerchief has been changed into a letter. The gradual training of a century was necessary before the polite French ear could bear the word 'mouchoir' on the stage. In *Zaïre* Voltaire brings upon the stage for the first time names belonging to French history. This novelty too he owed to Shakspere. The *Death of Cæsar* is founded upon Shakspere's play. In all these cases Voltaire's thoroughly French taste has led him to alter (for the worse) the models he drew from. In some degree Herr König may be said to vindicate Voltaire's consistency, since he holds that Voltaire, while really admiring some passages in Shakspere's plays, yet always believed in the rules of the so-called classical drama. He could honestly praise Shakspere while yet unknown in France, but when it seemed that Shakspere was to be invoked as an authority for breaking the established laws of French dramatic poetry, he could no less honestly combat what he looked upon as a fatal error. Neither by nature nor education was Voltaire capable of understanding Shakspere truly, and so appreciating the greatness of which he still had an instinctive feeling.

Hamlet in Spain, by Caroline Michaelis, gives an account of the attention, or rather the neglect, which Shakspere has met with in Spain. Hitherto he has been known very little, and only through translations of the Voltairean school. Now a complete translation is being published by S. Jaime Clark, which is conscientiously and well done, following the form of the original as nearly as possible. The latter part of the paper describes a *new* Hamlet by S. Coello. It is inspired by Shakspere, but is freely altered, and has been changed

from a tragedy into a drama, in which seven characters carefully observe the unities.

A kindly notice of the publications of our own Society by Prof. Delius completes the list of papers.

There is also a list of Shakspere performances at the German theatres which is enough to stir envy and shame in any Englishman. From this it appears that in 32 theatres from which returns have been given, no less than 25 of Shakspere's plays have been acted—some of them many times.

A page to the memory of Mr Howard Staunton, some reviews of Shakspere literature, and a list of books and articles on Shaksperian matters for 1873-4, compiled by Mr Albert Cohn, complete the volume.

‘*lubber*’: 2 *Gent.*, II. v. 47, &c. “*Nihil loci est segnitiae, neque socordiae*. Thers no time to plaie the litherbie [lither = wicked] now, or lasie *lubber*.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 19, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘*lubberly*’: *My. Wives*, V. v. 195. “In faith, this is but a great *lubberly* knaue, which seemeth to you to be such a tall [= brave] fellow: feare him not.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 167, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘*minion*’: *sb. Tempest*, IV. 98. “*Adolescentula, formâ & vultu adeo modesto, adeo venusto, vt nihil suprà*. A young wench, a pretty dapper lasse, a little young *minion* of beautie and countenance; so demure and so faire, so well faoured withall, as that nothing may excell it, or goe beyond.”—R. Bernard’s *Terence in English*, p. 12, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

‘*nipping*’: *adj. 2 Hen. VI*, II. iv. 3; *Hen. VIII*, III. ii. 357. “A quicke witte will take soone, a staid memorie will hold fast, a dull head may proue somewhat, a meane witte offers faire, *praise* bewrayeth some courage, *awe* some; in eache kinde there is likely-hood, and yet error in eche. For as there be faire blossomes, so there be *nipping* frostes.”—1581; R. Mulcaster, *Positions*, p. 140.

Collation of the 1st edition of Marlowe's *Edward II*, 1594 (the only known copy, discovered in Cassel), with Dyce's text of 1850, Marlowe's *Works*, vol. ii., by Dr Rudolf Genée of Dresden.

“*The troublesome
raigne and lamentable death of
Edward the second, King of
England: with the tragical
fall of proud Mortimer:*”

As it was sundrie times publiquely acted
in the honourable citie of London, by the
right honourable the Earle of Pem-
brooke his servants.

Written by Chri. Marlow Gent.



Imprinted at London for William Jones,
dwelling neere Holbourne conduit, at the
signe of the Gunne, 1594.”

The back of the title-page is blank. There is no *Dramatis Personæ*. The text contains 91 pages besides the title, not paged or sign'd. The title above is not a facsimile.

APPENDIX VI.

LIST OF THE CHIEF¹ DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EDITION
OF 1594 AND THAT OF THE 1ST EDITION OF
ALEX. DYCE, LONDON, 1850. (Vol. II.)

Ed. A. Dyce, 1850.	Edition of 1594.	
Page	Line	[ACT I. Scene i. Cunningham.]
165	2	Enter <i>Gaueston</i> reading on a letter <i>that was brought from the king</i> ('reading a letter from the king.' Cunningham).
"	16	let me <i>die</i> (for 'lie,' p. 118, col. 1, ed. Cunningham).
"	18	artick (for 'arctic').
166	5	Tanti : Ile fanne, for 'Tanti ; I'll fawn' (as in Cunningham).
"	7, 8	'Enter three poor Men' after the words 'what are these ?'
"	23	<i>Sold.</i> (for 3 <i>Man</i>) Farewell, &c.
"	27	Porpintine (for 'porcupine').
167	4	[Aside] omitted, like all other 'Asides' in the play.
168	6	My lord, here comes, &c. (for 'By'r lord,' &c.: Cun. 'Here comes my lord the king': Dyce).
"	7	[Retires] omitted.
"	8, ff.	Enter the King, Lancaster, Mortimer senior, Mortimer junior, Edmund Earl of Kent, Guie Earle of Warwicke, &c. (as in Cunningham, p. 119, col. 1). (N. B. In the rest of the play the two Mortimers are always distinguisht as <i>senior</i> and <i>junior</i> .)
170	1	for 'Mowbray' here as elsewhere, is ' <i>Mowbery.</i> ' Cunningham has 'Moubery.'
"	22	And northward <i>Gaueston</i> , &c. (for 'Lancaster : Cunningham, p. 120, col. 2).
171	2, 3	Exeunt Nobiles (for 'Exeunt Nobles': Cun. 'all, except', &c.: Dyce).

¹ Most of them are of no importance whatever. A superfluous line is recoverd in Act IV. Sc. v. I add a few references to Cunningham's edition.
—F. J. F.

- Page Line [ACT I. Scene ii. Cun.]
- 174 8 Enter both the Mortimer, Warwick, and Lancaster (as
 in Cunningham, but with 'Mortimers').
- 176 4 after 'and us': Enter the Bishop of Canterbury (for
 'Archbishop of Canterbury and a Messenger').
- 177 14 Exit Attendant ('Messenger,' Cunningham): omitted.
- 1 Enter the Queene (for *Enter Queen Isabella*).
- 23 oppress'd by (for *with*: Cunningham, p. 122, col. 1).

[ACT I. Scene iv. Cun.]

178 7 *Archb of Cant.* omitted, so that Mortimer speaks the
 line.

 15 [Exeunt] omitted.

179 1 Enter Nobiles.

 7 He subscribes, &c., omitted.

 14 Enter the King and Gaveston.

180 8 We will not thus be *facst*, &c. (for 'faced').

 28 [Attendants remove Gav., &c., omitted.

 18 This Ile (for 'isle').

182 4 these *lords* (*sic*).

 25 be (for 'are').

183 7 [Subscribes] omitted.

 16 Exeunt Nobiles.

184 1 *may* (for 'make').

185 4 [The exchange, &c.] omitted.

187 6 Circes (for 'Circe').

 21, 22 Enter the Nobles to the Queene.

191 2 murtherer (for 'murderer').

193 13 thy neck (*sic*).

194 6 imbrotherie (for 'embroidery': Cunningham, p. 127,
 col. 1).

196 6 The conquering *Hector* (for 'Hercules').

[ACT II. Scene i. Cun.]

197 15 Enter Spencer, &c.

199 6 such *formal* (*sic*) toys (as in Dyce and Cunningham,
 'formal,' of form and ceremony).

 20 Enter the *Lady*.

 21 *Lady* (for 'Niece,' as afterwards).

 27 [reads] omitted, as afterwards.

200 3 But rest thee, &c. (for But 'stay' thee).

 4 [Puts the letter, &c.] omitted.

 11 after: done, madam, 'Exit' (as in Cunningham, p.
 128, col. 2).

 24 [Exeunt] omitted.

Page	Line	[ACT II. Scene ii. Cun.]
202	9	<i>Edu.</i> (wrongly for <i>Kent</i>).
203	17	So did it <i>sure</i> with me (for <i>fare</i>).
205	22	<i>Exit the King.</i>
206	6	Enter a Poast.
"	8	<i>Messen.</i>
"	9	[Giving, &c., omitted.
207	4	[Enter Guard, omitted.
"	13	[Enter King, &c., omitted.
208	1	<i>Would</i> (for <i>'Twould</i>).
"	11	overstretched, <i>hath</i> (wrongly for <i>break</i>).
"	17	<i>made road</i> (for <i>make</i>).
210	12	Exeunt Nobiles (for 'Nobles': Cun. 'Exit with Y. Mortimer': Dyce).
211	16-18	Enter the Queene, Ladies 3, Baldock and Spencer. (Also in Sc. iv.: Lady for Niece).

[ACT II. Scene iv. Cun.]

214	21	[Enter Queene, &c.] omitted.
215	9	after: 'your lovers sake' <i>Exeunt omnes, manet Isabella.</i>
"	18	<i>Enter the Barons alarums</i> (same words as in Cunningham. Not in Dyce).
216	18	and therefore be gone ('and' is bad).
217	6	[<i>Exeunt</i> , &c.] omitted.
"	17	Exeunt.

[ACT II. Scene v. Cun.]

219	1	Enter the Nobiles.
"		<i>N. B.</i> In the lines on this page is another division.
220	23	'short' omitted (as in Cunningham, making the line 9 syllables). 'These short delays': Dyce.
223	24	<i>Exit cum servis Pen.</i>
"	27	<i>Exeunt ambo.</i>

[ACT III. Scene ii. Cun.]

225	17	My 'lovely' Pierce, my Gaveston again: (my, for of).
226	20, 21	Enter Hugh Spencer, <i>an old man</i> , father to the yong Spencer, with the truncheon, and soldiers ('an old man' inserted).
227	10	True, <i>and</i> it like, &c. (<i>and</i> , for <i>an</i>).
228	2	Lewne a Frenchman (Lewne for Levune).
229	9	[<i>Exit</i> , &c.] omitted.
"	10	<i>Enter Lord Matre.</i>
"	11, 14	Matre (for 'Arundel').
231	4	kneelees and says ('and says' added).

Page	Line	
232	1	Enter Herald <i>from the Barons</i> , &c. (as in Cunningham, p. 137, col. 2).
"	2 & 8	Messenger (<i>for 'Herald'</i>).
"	6	route (<i>for root</i>).
233	3	Embrace (<i>for Embraces</i>) Spencer.
"	8	[Exit] omitted.

[ACT III. Scene iii. Cun.]

235	9	Enter King Edward with the Barons captives.
"	23	[Exit Kent] omitted.
236	8	<i>Tis but temporal</i> , &c. (for <i>It is</i>).
"	28	[The captives, &c.] omitted.
237	3, 4	Lewne (<i>for Levune</i>).
"	15	leuied (<i>for levelled</i>).
"	19	claps close (<i>wrongly for cap so close</i>).

[ACT IV. Scene i. Cun.]

238	1	Edmund.
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[ACT IV. Scene ii. Cun.]

239	1	Enter the Queene and her sonne.
"	15	Henolt (<i>for Henoult</i>).
241	14	party (<i>for part</i>).
244	9	Enter a Poast.
246	6	<i>And made the channels</i> (for ' <i>Who made the channel</i> ').
"	26	[Exeunt] omitted.

[ACT IV. Scene v. Cun.]

247	1, 2	Spencer, <i>flying about the stage</i> (as in Cunningham, p. 142, col. 1).
"	9	r'enforce (<i>badly for reinforce</i>).
"	12	[Exeunt] omitted.
"	13	<i>Edmund alone</i> .
"	18	Vilde (<i>for Vile</i>).
249	13	scape (as in Cunningham, p. 143, col. 1).
"	18	<i>Edm.</i>
"	19, 20	Enter Rice ap Howell, and the Maior of Bristow, with Spencer the father.
250	15	Unhappies.
"	25	Meanwhile have hence this rebel to the block. <i>Your lordship cannot priuiledge your head.</i> [This is a lost line recovered. Act IV. Sc. v., p. 143, col. 1, ed. Cunningham.]
251	2	[Exeunt, &c.] omitted.
"	9	Exeunt omnes.

Page	Line	[ACT IV. Scene vi. Cun.]
251	11, 12	'the three latter disguised' omitted.
252	4	of <i>that philosophie</i> (for 'thy').
"	14	<i>Monks</i> (for First M.).
253	4	open, <i>for ope</i> (<i>ope is better</i>).
254	18	Spencer, a sweet Spencer (<i>for</i> , 'Spencer, sweet Spencer').
"	15	For friend hath Edward none but these, and these; And these must die, &c. (Cunningham reads, 'For friend hath [hapless] Edward none, but these; And these must die under a tyrant's sword.' IV. vi., p. 144, col. 2.)
256	8	are <i>fleeted</i> hence (<i>for</i> 'fleeting').

[ACT V. Scene i. Cun.]

,,	23, 24	with the Bishop for the crowne.
257	18	Full <i>often</i> , &c. (as in Cun., for 'oft': Dyce).
258	27	survives (<i>for survive</i> : Cun., p. 145, col. 2).
259	7	In which extreme (<i>for extremes</i> : Cun.).
260	14	'be king' omitted (as in Cun.).
261	22	after 'myself!' <i>Enter Bartley</i> (and afterwards, ed. 1594 has <i>Bartley</i> , for <i>Berkely</i> : Cun., p. 146, col. 2).
263	1	of the queen (as in Cun.).
264	2	<i>Exeunt omnes</i> (as in Cun.).

[ACT V. Scene ii. Cun., p. 147, col. 1.]

,,	14	imports <i>as much</i> (badly, for us : Cun., p. 147, col. 1).
,,	17	<i>will bear</i> (for 'twill).
268	21	it is.
270	2	<i>Exeunt omnes</i> .

[ACT V. Scene iii. Cun., p. 149, col. 2.]

272	11	'to Killingworth'; <i>Enter Edmund</i> (for 'Kent': Cun.).
273	7	'King Edward'; Manent Edmund and the soldiers.
,,	15	<i>Exeunt omnes</i> (as in Cun.).

[ACT V. Scene iv. Cun., p. 149, col. 2.]

,,	16	Enter Mortimer alone.
,,	21	when his sonne is of age (metre needs 'sons,' as in Cun.).
,,	25	[reads] omitted.
,,	27	No stops in the line (as in Cun.).
274	13	[<i>Enter Lightborn</i>] omitted.
,,	26	<i>through</i> the throat (for 'down': To strangle with a lawn thrust 'down' the throat is of course much better).
275	11	ten miles end (for 'ten mile end').

Page	Line	
276	16	[Trumpets] omitted.
"	18	Enter the young King, Bishop, Champion, Nobles, Queene.
277	8	' <i>Edu. Third</i> ' here and afterwards, for <i>King</i> .
"	14, 16	the name is only <i>Soldier</i> .
"	23	marshall (for 'martial').

[ACT V. Scene v. Cun.]

280	4	conster (for 'construe').
281	2	Fear not you that (you <i>for</i> thou).
"	4	[Exit, &c.] omitted.
282	7	<i>limmes</i> (for 'limbs').
284	1	Oh, let me not die! Yet stay, oh stay a while (the same as in Cunningham, for Dyce's 'Oh, let me not <i>die yet!</i> oh, stay a while').
"	8	[Enter] omitted.
"	22	Then Gurnay stabs Lightborne (Cunningham omits 'Then').
"	25	Exeunt omnes.

[ACT V. Scene vi. Cun.]

285	13	[Exit] omitted.
"	23	I, I, but he tears, &c. (<i>wrongly for</i> 'Aye, but a').
286	6	Enter the King with the lords.
"	8	<i>Lords</i> .
287	3	<i>Lords</i> .
"	6	dare (Who is the man <i>dare</i> say.—Cunningham, p. 153, col. 1).
"	17	Tis my hand, &c. (<i>for</i> It is a).
289	12, 14	<i>Lords</i> (for <i>Second Lord</i>).
"	20	<i>Lords</i> .
290	12	[Exeunt] omitted.

Finis.

Imprinted at London for William Ihones,
and are to be sold at his shop, neere unto Houlbourne :
Conduit. 1594.

APPENDIX VII.

SHAKSPEREANA

PUBLISHED DURING THE YEARS 1874 AND 1875.

COMMUNICATED BY

FRANZ THIMM.

I. ENGLISH EDITIONS OF SHAKSPERE.

1874. *Shakspeare's Works.*

Edited by C. M. Clarke, 8vo.

Ed. by Alex. Dyce, 3rd Ed. 9 vols. 8vo.

Ed. by Ch. Knight, 340 Illustrations, 2 vols. roy. 8vo.

Ed. by C. Knight, post 8vo.

Ed. by S. W. Singer (cheap reprint of the former Editions, with the forged documents taken out of the Life), 10 vols. 12mo.

Reprinted from early Editions with Life and Glossary, post 8vo. Warne. The Reference Shakspeare. A self-interpreting Edition containing 11,600 References. Compiled by John B. Marsh. New Edition. London.

Shakspeare's Plays selected for the use of Schools by the Rev. Henry N. Hudson, 3rd Series. *Boston.*1875. *Shakspeare's Works.*

Edited by C. and W. C. Clarke, illustrated from the Boydell's Gallery, 4 vols. 8vo.

Edited by F. G. Bell, 6 vols. 12mo. Collins.

Excelsior Edition, roy. 8vo. Nimmo.

Plays, edited and annotated by Charles and M. Cowden Clarke, vol. i. Comedies, 4to. Cassell.

Reduced facsimile Edition of 1623, with a Preface by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips. Chatto and Windus.

Stratford Edition, edited by Ch. Knight, fresh reprint, 6 vols. 12mo.¹ Ed. by Bowdler, School Edition, post 8vo.

¹ The stereotype plates of this edition have been sold to an American house, as those of Valpy's small illustrated edition (25 vols. Bell and Sons) have been.—F.

II. ENGLISH SHAKSPEREANA.

- Bellamy, G. Somers.* The new Shaksperian Dictionary of Quotations with marginal Classification and Reference. 8vo. London, 1875.
- Boydell's Gallery.* Illustrations from Boydell's Gallery, Photographed. 2 vols. roy. 8vo. 1874.
- Browne, C. Elliot.* Shakespeare's Son-in-Law. (Article in Fraser's Mag.) April, 1874.
- Burgess, Tom.* Historic Warwickshire, 1876.
- Crotch (W. Dupper).* Double Acrostics from Shakspeare. 16mo. London, 1875.
- Dodd's Beauties of Shakspeare, 1876.* Nimmo.
- Dowden (Edward).* Shakspere: a critical study of his Mind and Art. 8vo. 1875.
- Furnivall, F. J.* The Succession of Shakspeare's Works, 1874. (An Introduction to the 2nd English Edition of Gervinus.)
- Goodson, T.* Religious and Moral Sentiments. Gems gathered by G. 12mo. London, 1874.
- Hall, N. T.* Shaksperean Statistics, 2nd Edition, Cambridge, 1874.
- Hamlet, or, Shakspeare's Philosophy of History.* 8vo. London, 1875. (See *Marshall, F.*)
- Holmes.* The Authorship of Shakspeare. 3rd Ed. with Appendix. New York, 1875.
- Ingleby, C. M.* Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse; being materials for a history of opinion, on S. and his works, from writers of the first century after his rise. 8vo. London, 1875.
- The Still Lion. An Essay towards the restoration of S. Text. 8vo. London, 1874.
- Shakspeare Hermeneutics. fsc. 4to. London, 1875.
- On Shakspeare's Traditional Birthday (Transactions of Roy. Soc. of Literature, II. S., vol. x., 1874).
- Jacox, Francis,* Shakspeare Diversions, a Medley of Motley Wear. 8vo. London, 1875.
- Johnston, G.* Cupid's Birthday Book: one Thousand Lovedarts from Shakspeare. Gathered and arranged for every Day in the Year. 32mo. cloth, 1875.
- Lloyd, Wm. Watkiss.* Critical Essays on the Plays of Shakespeare. Post 8vo. London, 1875. (Reprinted from Singer's ed., with 2 fresh pages of 'Advertisement'. The best half-crown book on Shakspere.—F.)
- Marshall, Frank.* A Study of Hamlet. 8vo. London, 1875.
- Morgan (Aaron).* The Mind of Shakspeare as exhibited in his Works. 12mo. London, 1875.
- Shakspeare Daily Gem Book, a Journal for Birthdays.* 32mo. London, 1875.

- Shakspeare and Fletcher, the Two Noble Kinsmen ; edited by W. Skeat. 12mo. London, 1875.
- The Shakspeare Calendar, an Ornamental Date Block, designed by Walter Crane. London, 1875.
- Household Words, square 16mo. reduced to 6s., 1875.
- Lore ; Virtue's Fine Art Almanac for 1874, 18mo.
- Almanack and Companion, 2,000 Quotations from Shakspeare. 12mo. 1874 and 1875.
- Birthday-book. Containing one or more quotations from Shakspeare for every day in the year, and blank pages for Autographs. Imp. 32mo. 1874, 12mo. 1875.
- Teetgen, Alex. Shakspeare's King "Edward the Third," absurdly called, and scandalously treated as a "doubtful play," an indignation pamphlet, together with an essay on the poetry of the future. 8vo. London, 1875.
- Tyler, Thomas. Philosophy of Hamlet. 8vo. London, 1875.
- Warburton's Shakspeare Copy Books, for School use. 32 pages roy. 4to. 1874.
- Ward, Ad. History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1875.
- Winsor (Justin). Bibliography of original Quartos and Folios of Shakspeare, 4to. Boston, U. S., 1876, £6. 6s.
- Young Men (Shakspeare's). Article in the Westminster Review, October, 1876.

III. GERMAN TRANSLATIONS OF SHAKSPERE.

- Shakspeare's Werke* von Schlegel und Tieck. Erste illustrirte Ausgabe, herausgegeben von Richard Gosche und Benno Tschischwitz. 2te verbesserte Auflage. 8 vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1875.
- sämmtliche Dramatische Werke in drei Bänden. Uebersetzt von Schlegel, Benda und Voss. 3 vols. 12mo. Leipzig, 1875.
- sämmtliche Werke. Uebersetzt von A. W. Schlegel, F. Bodenstedt, N. Delius, etc. Mit Illustrationen von Sir J. Gilbert. imp. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1874.
- *Hamlet*, Prinz von Dänemark. In Wort und Sinn getreuer Prosa Uebersetzung von C. Hackh. Mit einleitenden kritischen Studien der Amleth-Sage nach Saxo-Grammaticus, und Urtheile über die Tragödie von Johnson, Göthe, Herder, Börne, Gervinus, Kreyssig, Vischer und Anderen. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1874.
- *Julius Caesar*, übersetzt von R. Prölss. Leipzig, 1875.
- *König Lear*. Drama in 5 Aufzügen, übersetzt und für die Münchener Hofbühne bearbeitet von Ernst Possart, Ober-registrar und königl. Hofschauspieler in München. 8vo. München, 1874.
- *Merchant of Venice*. School edition (English), with memoirs and German notes, by C. Frh. de Wickede. 8vo. Altenburg, 1875.

- *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* School Edition, ed. by Wickede. 1875.
- *Romeo und Juliet*, übersetzt von A. W. von Schlegel. Mit 4 Photographien nach den Original-Cartons und mehreren Holzschnitten, von Ferdinand Piloty. Small folio, bound. Berlin, 1875.

IV. GERMAN SHAKSPEREANA.

- Benedix.* Shakespearomanie (besprochen in Herrig's Magazin für Literatur). 1874. No. 8.
- Bodenstedt, Fr.* Shakspeare's Frauenscharaktere. 8vo. Berlin, 1875.
- Friesen, Freiherr H.* Altengland und William Shakspeare.
Band I. Shakspeare Studien. Wien, 1874.
Band II. Wilhelm Shakspeare's Dramen vom Beginn seiner Laufbahn bis 1601. 8vo. Wien, 1875.
Band III. Dramen von 1601 bis zum Schlusse seiner Laufbahn. 8vo. 1876.
- Fulda, Carl.* Wilhelm Shakespere. Eine neue Studie. 12mo. Marbach, 1875.
- Grimm, Hermann.* Fünfzehn Essays. Neue Folge. 8vo. Berlin, 1875. (Enthält Shakspeare's Sturm und Hamlet's Character.)
- Haring, G. H.* Die Blüthezeit des englischen Dramas. Hamburg, 1875.
- Hartman, E. v.* Shakspeare's Romeo und Julia. gr. 8vo. Leipzig, 1874.
- Hense, C. C.* Personification in griechischen Dichtungen mit Be- rücksichtigung lateinischer Dichter und Shakspeare. 4to. 1874.
- Herman, C.* Ueber Shakespere's Midsummer Nights Dream. Eine Studie. 2te Ausgabe. 8vo. Braunschweig, 1874.
- Jacoby, Dr.* Kaufmann von Venedig. Ein Vortrag. (Grenzboten, 1874. No. 16.)
- Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakspeare-Gesellschaft.* Band IX, 1874. Band X, 1875.
- Kaiser, V.* Macbeth und Lady Macbeth in Shakspeare's Dichtungen und in Kunstwerken von Cornelius und Kaulbach. gr. 8vo. Basel, 1875.
- Kaulbach's Briefe an Ober-Postrath Schüller*, über seine Shakspeare Compositionen. (In Rodenberg's Deutscher Rundschau, 1874.)
- Klingelhöver, Dr. W.* Plaute imité par Molière et Shakspere. 4to. Darmstadt, 1875.
- Klein, J. L.* Geschichte des englischen Dramas. Band I. Leipzig, 1875.
- Kühn, C.* Ueber Ducis in seiner Beziehung zu Shakspeare. 8vo. Jena, 1875.
- Laube, H.* Shakspeare Splitter. (Rundschau, Heft V.) 1875.
- Lamb.* Six Tales from Shakspeare. Mit Anmerkungen und Wörterbuch von F. Balty. 3te Auflage. 8vo. Altenburg, 1875.

- Lindau, Paul.* Die Shakespearomanie von R. Benedix. (Gegenwart, Heft 43 & 44.) 1874.
- Liebau, G.* Erzählungen aus der Shakspeare Welt. Für die deutsche Jugend. Berlin, 1875.
- Marbach, O.* Shakspeare-Prometheus. Phantastisch-satirisches Zauberspiel vor dem Höllenrahn. 8vo. Leipzig, 1874.
- Maas, Dr. M.* Unsere deutschen Dichterheroen und die sogenannte Shakspearomanie. gr. 8vo. Thorn, 1874.
- Meissner, Joh.* Shakespeare-Curiosa. (Mag. für Literatur des Auslandes. No. 27.) 1874.
- Zu Shakespeare's Lebensgang. (In Historien.) Berlin, 1875.
- Maurer, Dr. K.* Der Sprachgebrauch in Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice, grammatisch dargestellt. 4to. Cöln, 1875.
- Noiré, Ludwig.* Zwölf Briefe eines Shakespearomanen. 8vo. Leipzig, 1874.
- Prölsz, Robert.* Romeo und Julia im Lichte der Philosophie des Unbewussten. 12mo. Dresden, 1874.
- Julius Caesar erläutert. 12mo. Leipzig, 1875.
- Kaufmann von Venedig erläutert. 12mo. 1875.
- Putlitz, Gustav zu.* Theater-Erinnerungen. 2te Aufl. 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1875. (Cont.: Shakspeare-Bearbeitungen, S.-Feier, Sommernachtstraum, etc.)
- Quellen.* Zwei neu-entdeckte Shakspeare Quellen. Aufsatz in "Die Literatur." No. 1 & 3. 1874.
- Rullmann, W.* Shakspearomanie. Zur Abwehr. Ein Gegenstück. (Deutsche Warte, VI. Heft 2.) 1874.
- Schmidt, Dr. Alex.* Shakspeare-Lexicon. A complete Dictionary of all the English words, phrases and constructions in the works of the poet. 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin. Vol. I, 1874. Vol. II, 1875.
- Thiel, Dr. B.* The principal reasons for Shakspeare remaining unpopular longer than a century even in England. 8vo. Augsburg, 1874.
- Timme, Otto.* Commentar über die erste Scene des 2ten Aktes von Shakspeare's Macbeth. 8vo. Jena, 1874.
- Wagner, Dr. W.* Shakspeare und die neueste Kritik. 8vo. Hamburg, 1874.
- Werner, Karl.* Vorlesungen über Shakspeare's Hamlet, gehalten in der Universität zu Berlin (zuerst im Wintersemester 1859-1860, zuletzt 1871-1872). 8vo. Berlin, 1875.

Note for p. 186.

p. 186. The Bond-Story is not in either Wynkyn de Worde's edition, or John Kynge's of 1557 (in the Bodleian), or Robinson's professedly-corrected translation publisht by Thomas Est in 1577 and 1595. To show the slight changes in the different editions of the Casket-Story, Mr J. S. Wood, the Librarian of St John's Coll. Camb., has kindly sent me an extract from the unique copy of the Wynkyn de Worde in his College Library, and Mr Parker has set underneath it John Kynge's text, collated with the 1595 edition, both in the Bodleian:—

Gesta Romanorum. London. Wynkyn de Worde.
Story No. 32, fol. I. vi. recto:—

And whan he hadde thus sayd he lette brynge forth thre vesselles. The fyrste was made of pure golde couched well with precyous stones without and within full of deed mennes bones / and there vpon was this poysse wryten / Who soo cheseth me shall fynde that he deserueth. The seconde vesselle was made of fyne syluer fylled with erthe and wormes and thus was the superscryspeyon / Who soo cheseth me shall fynde that his nature desyreth. The thyrde vessell was made of lede full within of precyous stones / and therupon was wryten this poysse / Who soo cheseth me shall fynde that god hathe dysposed for hym. These thre vessels the Emperour shewed to the mayden and sayd. Loo here daughter these ben noble vessels yf thou chese one these wherin is profyte to the and to other than shalte thou haue my sone. And yf &c.

The hystorye of Gesta Romanorum: Lond. 1557.
[Bodleian, Mason H. 119. Sign. n. iv, bk.] :—

And whan he had thus sayd, he let brynge forth thre vessels, the fyrst was made of pure golde well couched¹ wyth precyous stones wythout & within, full of deed mennes bones, and therupon was wryten² thys posey. Who so choseth me shall fynde that he deserueth. The seconde vessell was made of fyne syluer, fylled wyth erth & wormds,³ and y^e superscripyon was thus. Who so choseth me, shall fynde that hys nature desyreth. The thyrde vessel was made of lede, full wythin of precyous stones, and therupon was wryten⁴ thys posey. Who so choseth me, shall fynde that god hath disposed for hym. These thre vessels the Emperour shewed to the mayden and sayd. Lo, here daughter, these be noble vessels, yf thou cose⁵ one of these wherin is profyte to the & to other, than shalte thou haue my sone. And yf (&c.)

¹ beesette, ed. 1595.

² engrauen

³ wormes

⁴ insculpt

⁵ choose

(The Collations above, p. 457, are from Douce R. 4. "A Record of auncient Histories, intituled in Latin : *Gesta Romanorum*; newly perused and corrected by R. Robinson." *Lond., Th. Est, 1595.*)

[MS. Note by Douce:—Robinson has made use of the edition printed by W. de Worde, and corrupted rather than corrected the text. . . . This edition of 1595 contained but 43 histories: the subsequent ones have an additional story. See some account of Robinson in the British Bibliographer, I. 109, and in my Mus. note book vol.]

'*Noll*' is now obsolete. In Shakspere's time it seems to have been used only contemptuously, much as *noddle* at present. *Midsu. N.'s Dr.*, III. ii. 17, *an ass's nolle I fixed on his head*. But originally it was a good word for 'vertex,' 'occiput.' So we read in Ælfric's Glossary: "Caput heáfod. Capita má (*heáfda* some MSS. add). Vertex *knoll*. Cerebrum *braegen*," etc. In M.E. it also means head; Arthur, ed. Furnivall, I. 211:

þu art wood on þe *nolle*.

In Webster—Mahn, s. v. *noll*, though O.E. *hnoll* is mentioned, yet it is suggested that *noll* probably is contracted from *noddle*. But if these two words be identical, it would be much safer to suppose that *noddle* was corrupted from *noll* by popular etymology connecting it with *to nod*; cf. *causeway* = *cawsaye*, l. 9990, *sparrow-grass*, *crawfish*, *beef-eaters*, etc. Koch., III. 1, 161-2 (cf. also note to l. 8411). In O.H.G. *hnoll* is *culmen*, *cacumen*, *vertex*, *sinciput*; in M.H.G. *nol* *cacumen*.—Prof. Zupitza, Note to l. 5544, *Guy of Warwick*, 1876. See note to l. 974.

'*old*': *adj.* great. *Much Ado*, V. ii. 98. "A ce drap, cousturiers! To it, whoresons; or let vs go roundly to worke; also, there was old cutting, snipping, shredding, laying about them."—Cotgrave. "To keepe back an ole coyle."—ib. v. *Diable*. "Le Diable sera bien aux vaches. There will be an old stirre, hurrying, hurlyburly."—Cotgrave, *Vache*.

'*pedant*': *L. L. Lost*, III. 179. "Pedante, a pedante or a schoole-master, as *Pedagogo* [a schoole-master that teacheth the principles of learning, a teacher or trainer vp of yoong children . . .]"—1598; Florio.

'*pied*': *adj.* *L. L. Lost*, V. ii. 904. "Vache baillette. A pide cow, red and white."—1611; Cotgrave.

'*preciseness*': 1 Hen. VI., V. iv. 69 (not Shakspere). "P. dignus es Cum tua religione, odio: nodum in scirpo queris. You are well worthie to be hated for your peeuiish *preciseness*: you make a

doubt, where all is as plaine as a pike staffe, you seeke a knot in a bulrush, in which is never any at all."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 100, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'pricksong': *Rom. & Jul.*, II. iv. 21. "Intauolatura, any song or musicke set in notes, pricke song."—1598; Florio.

'qualified': *adj.* *Cymb.*, I. iv. 65. "Mystrisse, it is as well fallen out for her as may be, seeing she hath happened this chance, because [she] principally appertaineth to him that is such a qualified yong gentleman, one borne of such a stocke, so well affected to you and your daughter, and come of such a great house."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 286, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'sluttish': *All's Well*, V. ii. 7. "The old wife, shee spun the woufe; and a maid besides was togither with them, all ragged and tattered, very sluttish, and not much regarded, belike: she weaued that they spunne."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 212, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'square': *sb. order.* *Ant. & Cleop.*, II. iii. 6. "Dauus inter-turbat omnia. Dauus brings all out of square: he marres all: he brings all into the briars."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 71, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'sunbright': *Two Gent.*, III. i. 88. "A Princesse (Q. Eliz.) whose sunbright honor dazeleth the eies of sovraine Monarchs; whose zealous inclination, like an inestimable Diamond enchased vpon a peereles Iewell, bewtifieth all other vertues that attend vpon her person . ."—1587; William Lightfoote, *The Complaint of England*, sign. C.

'timely': *adv. early.* *Macbeth*, II. iii. 51. "Molto a buon hora, very timely, verie early."—1598; Florio.

'too-too': *Merchant*, II. vi. 42. "Nimium parce facit sump-tum. He bestowes too too little cost: hee playes the very niggard."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 46, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'toy': *sb. fancy.* *Rich. III.*, I. i. 60. "or if the toy take him in the head, he will finde some one cause or other, by hab or nab, hooke or crooke, & so, be it right or wrong, he will tumble me headlong into the grinding house."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 19, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'trot': an old trot. *Shrew*, I. ii. "Lesbia . . . is a very drunken harebrainde woman . . . Yet neverthelesse I will bring her. See how earnest the old trot is to haue her heere; and all because she is a drunken gossip of hers."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 21, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'unawares: at unawares': *Troil. & Cres.*, III. ii. 40. "Oppri-

mere imprudentem. To take one at vnawares: to come vpon one of a suddaine."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 20, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'unmannerly': *adj.* 2 *Gent.*, III. i. 393, &c. "Inurbano, vnciuill, vncourteous, rude, clownish, vnmanerly, homely, discourteous."—1598; Florio.

'uphold' ('whate'er I forge') . . . in your speeches,' *Titus*, V. ii. 72. "I will now make as though I came this other way on the right hand: see that thou be readie to answer and uphold my talke, in euery point as shall be needfull."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 78, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'urchin': *sb.* *Tempest*, I. iii. 226. "Istrice, a porpuntine, or porkepine, a beast like a hedgehog, whose pricks are dangerous, an vrchin."—1598; Florio.

'vengeance'! *Coriol.*, III. i. 262 (the v.!) "What (a vengeance) thinke you, desire I to haue, that dissembled long? (Quid (malum) me tandem censes velle . .)."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 238, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'waver': *Merchant*, IV. i. 130. "Paulo momento *huc illuc impellitur*. Hee is as wauering as a wethercocke. He is heere and their (*so*) all in a moment. Theirs as much holde to his word, as to take a wet eele by the taile."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 27, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'whit': *sb.* 2 *Gent.*, IV. ii. 67. "Iota, a iot, a nifle, nothing, a whit, a crumme, nought."—1598; Florio.

'Winchester goose': 1 *Hen. VI.*, I. iii. 53; *Troil.*, V. x. 55. "Ital Tarblo . . a cunt-botch, or Winchester goose."—1598; Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

'world': *sb.* wonder. *Much Ado*, III. v. 38. "whether shee be wife to Pamphilus, or but his loue, I know not; but great with child, shee is by him: shee is now double ribbed. And it is a world (*est opera pretium*) to heare their presumption. For they fare as they were lunatike and not loue sicke."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 19, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

INDEX.

(BY W. WILKINS, TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN.)

- ABBOTT, on the Quartos of *Hamlet*, ix
Appian's Civil Wars:
 Brutus's speech, 428
 Antony's speech over Cæsar's dead body, 432
 Cæsar and Alexander compar'd, 435
- Banquo, Character of, by Mr Foggo, 200
 Bond-Story in *Merch. of Venice*: the earliest English Version of, 181
- CARTWRIGHT (*Pericles and Timon*, dates of), xviii
Cash, Society's Accounts, xxix
 CHARLEMONT, Lady, on *Lady Macbeth*, 194
 CRAIG, on *Cymbeline*, xix
Cursor Mundi englisht, the Bond-Story in, 188
- DANIEL, on the *Romeo and Juliet* Quartos, xvi
 DELIUS, on the Folio Corrections of *Rich. III*, 75; on the Quarto and Folio of *King Lear*, 125; on *Narration in Shakspere*, 207; previous occurrences, episodic element, 208; *Mer. of Ven.*, 209; *M. N. D.* and *T. of Shr.*, 210; *As You Like It*, 211; *Merry Wives*, *Wint. Tale*, 212; *Tempest*, 213; *Cymbeline*, 213; *Othello*, *Macbeth*, 214; *Rom. and Jul.*, *Lear*, 215; *Rich. II*, *H. V.*, *Coriol.*, *Ant. and Cleop.*, 216
Second Paper, 332
 1 and 2 *Hen. VI*, 333; 3 *Hen. VI*, *Rich. III*, 334; *K. John*, 335; *Rich. II*, 336; 1 *Hen. IV*, 337; 2 *Hen. IV*, 338; *Hen. V*, 339; *Hen. VIII*, 340; *Coriol.* and *Jul. Cæs.*, 342; *Ant. and Cleop.*, 343
- DOWDEN, on German Shakspere Literature, xi
 Evening Mass in *Romeo and Juliet*: R. Simpson on, 148
- Faire Em* (Simpson), xi, 160-180
 FOGGO, on Banquo's character, 200
 FORMAN'S Book of Plays, A.D. 1611: *Richard II*, 415; *Winter's Tale*, 416; *Cymbeline*, 417; *Macbeth*, 417
 FURNESS, on Hamlet's character, xxvii
 FURNIVALL: Animal Metaphors, *Hen. VI*, 280; Animal Parallels, *Lucrece* and *Hen. VI*, 312; Banquo's character, 205; Character of Hamlet, xxvi; *Edward III*, xix; Emendation, *Pass. Pilg.*, xxviii; Lady Macbeth, 198; Links between Shakspere's plays, xxii; Old Arthur Man, 284; Old Furnival (Talbot), 284; Parallel Texts, *Hen. VI* and Originals, 284; date of *Venus and Adonis*, 150; see *Scraps*.
- GARDINER, Prof.: Political Element in Massinger, 314; Herbert, Pembroke, Montgomery, *The Bondman*, 316; Buckingham, 317; Elector Palatine, Duke of Florence, 319; Weston, *Believe as You List*, 320; *Emperor of the East*, 326; Hamilton, 329; *Maid of Honour*, 331
 German Shakspere Literature (Prof. Dowden on), xi; German Shakspere Society's Year Book, 1875 (Matthew on); Thummel, on Shakspere's children, 440; Schaafhausen, on the Kesselstadt Mask, 440; Jonson, Ben., by Friessen, 441; *Alcilia*, 440; Succession of Shakspere's Plays, König, 442; Shakspere and Voltaire, 443; Hamlet in Spain, Michaelis, 443; Shakspere Performances, 444
- GORDON, Miss Eva, 125, 207
 GRANT WHITE on *Hen. VI*, xxv; the Time of *Merry Wives*, 421
 Greene, share in 2 and 3 *Hen. VI*, 236, 252; in *Cont. and True Trag.*, 304; R. Simpson on his prose works, and his play of *Faire Em*, 160-180
- HALES, Date of *Jul. Cæs.*, xiii

- HALPIN, The Dramatic Unities of Shakspere, 388 ; Time Analysis of *M. of Venice*, 393
- Hamlet and Ophelia (Dr Todhunter), xx
- Hamlet*, Growth of (Simpson), xviii
- Hamlet*, Quartos of : Dr Abbott on, ix ; Mr Furnivall, Mr Simpson, and Dr Nicholson on, x
- 1 *Henry IV*, II. iii. 90, note on, 124
(N.B. A correspondent says he has searcht for the original in vain.)
- Henry V*, Quartos (Dr Nicholson), xiv
- Henry VI*, 2 and 3; the Authors of them and their originals discussd by Miss Lee, 219-310 ; Menagerie-man of, 280
- Hist. Plays*, Order of (Miss Lee), 310
- INGLEBY, on 'Season,' xix ; Dedication of Sonnets, xx
- INGRAM, Prof., 'Speech-ending' test, xi
- Jonson, Ben. (Pickersgill on), xii
Jul. Cæs., date of (Hales), xiii
" " source of the speeches over
" Cæsar's body, 428-34
- King John*, date of (Miss Lee), 311
" " (Dr Nicholson), xv
- Lady Macbeth* (Countess Charlemont on), 194
- Lear*, Delius on the Quarto and Folio of, 125
- LEE (Miss Jane) : Authorship of 2 and 3 *Hen. VI* and their originals, 219 ; Authoress's Index to Paper, 219 ; *Contention* and *True Tragedy* earlier than Shakspere, 220 ; Mr Fleay (220) and Mr Kenny (225) think not ; Anjou and Maine speech, 226 ; Repeated lines, *L. L. Lost*, 234 ; Marlowe, Greene, Chettle, 236 ; Grant White, 238 ; Marlowe, 239 ; Greene's Comedy (252), Cade (256) ; Mr Ward (261) ; Reply to Director, 289 ; Sh. and Marlowe in 2 and 3 *Hen. VI*, 293 ; Reply to Littledale (*Althea*), 303 ; Marlowe and Greene in *Cont.* and *True Tragedy*, 304
- P.S. to Paper: Characters of Duke Humphrey and King Henry VI, 307 ; Ulrici on Marlowe, 307 ; Order of Shakspere's Historical Plays, 311
- LEGGE, Dr, on the *Plica Polonica* in *Romeo and Juliet*, 191
- LITTLEDALE, Note on Althea's brand, 303
- Macbeth*, analysis of the time of the action of the play, 351
- Marlowe, share in 2 and 3 *Hen. VI*, 236, 239, 293, 307 ; in *Cont.* and *True Tragedy*, 304
- MARSHALL, character of Othello and Hamlet, xxiii
- MARX, Miss Eleanor, 332
- Meetings, Notices of, vii
- Merchant of Venice* : on the Bond-Story in, 181 ; analysis of the time of the play, 393
- Mucedorus* (Simpson on), xi, 157-160
- NICHOLSON (Dr), on the Quartos of *Henry V*, xiv ; on the Date of *King John*, xv ; on Malvolio's 'my some rich jewel,' 154 ; on the date of *Venus and Adonis*, 150
- Othello ; time of the action of its later part, 358
- ours in *Rom.* and *Jul.*, 150
- PICKERSGILL, on Ben. Jonson, xii
on the Quarto and Folio of *Richard III*, 77
- Plica Polonica*, Dr Legge on, 191
- Quartos of *Hamlet* :
Dr Abbott's Paper, ix
Mr Furnivall on, x
Mr Simpson on, x
Dr Nicholson on, x
- Quarto and Folio of *Lear* :
Prof. Delius on, 125
- Quarto and Folio of *Richard III* :
Mr Spedding on, 1
Prof. Delius on, 75
Mr Pickersgill on, 77
Mr W. Aldis Wright on, 123
- Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* :
Mr Daniel on, xvi
- RACHEL on *Lady Macbeth*, 197
- Richard III*, the Quarto and Folio of, 1-124, 190
- Romeo and Juliet* Quartos (Spedding and Daniel), xiv
- Scraps, quotations for words (by F. J. F.): 'all to,' 420 ; 'at quiet,' 346 ; 'atonement,' 199 ; 'attent,' 199 ; 'avaunt,' 420 ; 'baggage,' 420 ; 'baked meats,' 199 ; 'bless,' ('God bless you'), 420 ; 'bot-

tle of hay,' 420; 'bouncing,' 420; 'brabble,' 420; 'brach,' 193; 'brag,' 423; 'buttons,' 193; 'by' ('by paths'), 423; 'by holy,' xxviii; 'cankered,' 198; 'carbonado,' 423; 'casual,' 423; 'changeling,' 423; 'chat,' 199; 'clinquant,' 205; 'coil,' 423; 'collied,' 205; 'conditioned,' 199; 'controlment,' 423; 'convertible,' 205; 'convey,' 193; 'court holy water' (*Lear*), 199; 'drown,' 423; 'elf' (my hair), 191; 'elflocks,' 191; 'England,' *K. J.*, 193; 'excellent,' 424; 'familiarity,' 424; 'fault,' 205; 'fico,' 'fig,' 205; 'fleer at,' 424; 'flirt gills,' 206; 'fool's paradise,' 206; 'fyne,' 206; 'fustian,' 424; 'galled,' 424; 'galled,' 206; 'grain (in g),' 439; 'hag,' 191; 'hand (out of h.),' 424; 'hang (go hang),' 424; 'harlotry,' 206; 'have with you,' 424; 'heels,' 198, 424; 'home-keeping,' 292; 'house and home,' 292; 'hugger-mugger,' 424; 'im-pasted,' 424; 'inn,' 198; 'intercessor,' 439; 'jack,' 292; 'jar (at jar),' 439; 'jump,' 292; 'kam,' 206; 'kecksy,' 292; 'kibe,' 292; 'kick-shaws,' 439; 'law (allows it),' 313; 'linger,' 439; 'lone woman,' 313; 'lubber, lubberly,' 444; 'lumpish,' 313; 'martlet,' 202; 'meacock,' 313; 'mechanical,' 313; 'minion,' 444; 'moth,' 313; 'nick (of time),' 313; 'nipping,' 444; 'noll,' 458; 'old,' 346, 458; 'painting' (face), 193; 'pedant,' 458; 'pied,' 458; 'preciseness,' 458; 'prick-song,' 459; 'qualified,' 459; 'Sea of troubles,' xiv; 'season,' xix; 'shrewd (turn),' 199; 'slaver,' 346; 'sluttish,' 459; 'spit white,' 346; 'square,' 459; 'stake down,' 193; 'sunbright,' 459; 'swabber,' 199; 'swaggerer,' 199, 206; 'take (napping),' 313; 'teeth' (despite of your), 198; 'tender (years),' 346; 'thrasonical,' 346; 'time and tide,' 346; 'timely,' 459; 'tittle-tattle,'

199; 'too-too,' 459; 'toy,' 459; 'trot,' 459; 'unawares,' 459; 'unmannerly,' 460; 'uphold,' 460; 'urchin,' 460; 'vengeance,' 460; 'vice,' 439; 'waver,' 460; 'whist,' 199; 'whit,' 460; 'Winchester goose,' 460; 'Wittenberg,' 199; 'world,' 460

Shakspere, plays attributed to, 155
Shakspeareana, 1874-5, by Franz Thimm, 452

Shylock's Bond : the story of, 181
SIMPSON (the late Mr R.), Growth of *Hamlet*, xviii; on Some Plays attributed to Shakspere, on *Mucedorus* and *Faire Em*, xi, 155-180
" on 'Evening Mass' in *Rom.* and *Jul.*, 148

SMITH, Miss L. Toulmin, on the Bond-Story in *The Merchant of Venice*, and the earliest English Version of it in the *Cursor Mundi*, 181, 457

Sonnets, Dedication of (Dr Ingleby and Mr Brae), xix

SPEDDING, on the Folio Corrections of *Richard III*, 1-74, 190; on *Romeo and Juliet* Quartos, xvi

Speech-ending Test (Dr Ingram), xi

STACK, Animals in *Hen. VI*, 280

THIMM, Shakspeareana, 1874-5, 452

TODHUNTER, Dr, on Hamlet and Ophelia, xx

Treasurer's Accounts, King James's (Sh.'s Plays), 280

Twelfth Night, II. v., 66-7 (Malvolio's 'my some rich jewel'), Dr Nicholson on, 154

Ulrici on Marlowe, criticized by Miss Lee, 307

Venus and Adonis, Dr Nicholson and Mr Furnivall on the Date of, 150

WHEATLEY, Originals of Sh.'s Plots, Sh.'s Characters, &c., xv; on *Every Man in His Humour*, xxvii

WILSON, Prof. Jno., Double Time-Analysis of *Macbeth*, 351; of *Othello*, 358

THE ORDER OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

MR FURNIVALL's Introduction to the *Leopold Shakspere*, Cassell & Co., 10s. 6d., gives his order and groups of the Plays and Poems as follows:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>FIRST PERIOD (? 1588-1594).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The Comedy-of-Errors or Mistaken-Identity Group (<i>Tit. Andr.</i> not Shakspere's). <i>Love's Labours Lost</i> (? 1588-9); <i>Errors</i> (? 1589); <i>Midsum. Night's Dream</i> (? 1590). b. Link-play. <i>Two Gent. of Verona</i> (? 1590-1). c. The Passion Group. <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (? 1591-3); <i>Venus and Adonis</i> (? 1593); <i>Lucrece</i> (1593-4); <i>The Passionate Pilgrim</i> (pr. 1599). d. The Early Histories. <i>Richard II.</i> (? 1593); 1, 2, 3 <i>Henry VI.</i> (? 1592-4; 1 <i>Henry VI.</i> perhaps earlier); <i>Richard III.</i> (1594). <p>SECOND PERIOD (? 1595-1601).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The Life-plea Group. <i>King John</i> (? 1595); <i>The Merchant of Venice</i> (? 1596). b. A Farce: <i>The Taming of the Shrew</i> (? 1596-7). c. The 3 Comedies of Falstaff, with the Trilogy of <i>Henry IV.</i>, v.
1 <i>Henry IV.</i> (1596-7); 2 <i>Henry IV.</i> (1597-8); <i>The Merry Wives</i> (1598-9); <i>Henry V.</i> (1599). d. The 3 Sunny- or Sweet-Time Comedies. <i>Much Ado</i> (1599-1600); <i>As you like it</i> (1600); <i>Twelfth Night</i> (1601). | <p>e. The darkening Comedy. <i>All's Well</i> (1601-2). Shakspere's <i>Sonnets</i> (? 1592-1608).</p> <p>THIRD PERIOD (1601-1608).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The Unfit-Nature or Under-Burden-failing Group. <i>Julius Caesar</i> (1601); <i>Hamlet</i> (1602-3); <i>Measure for Measure</i> (? 1603). b. The Tempter-yielding Group. <i>Othello</i> (? 1604); <i>Macbeth</i> (1605-6). c. The 1st Ingratitude and Cursing Play: <i>Lear</i> (1605-6). d. The Lust or False-Love Group. <i>Troilus and Cressida</i> (? 1606-7); <i>Antony and Cleopatra</i> (? 1606-7). e. The 2nd Ingratitude and Cursing Group. <i>Coriolanus</i> (? 1607-8); <i>Timon</i> (? 1607-8). <p>FOURTH PERIOD (? 1608-1613).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. All plays of Reunion, of Reconciliation, and Forgiveness. a. By Men. <i>Pericles</i> (1608-9); <i>The Tempest</i> (? 1609-10). b. By Women (mainly). <i>Cymbeline</i> (? 1610); <i>Winter's Tale</i> (1611); <i>Hen. VIII.</i> (1612-13). <p>Doubtful Plays: <i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i> (? 1612-13), part Shakspere's. <i>Edward III.</i> (1594), none of it Shakspere's.</p> |
|---|---|

In the Notes to the same *Introduction* are Prof. Dowden's groups and order, thus:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. PRE-SHAKSPERIAN GROUP.
(Touched by Shakspere.)
<i>Titus Andronicus</i> } (blood and fire).
1 <i>Henry VI.</i> }</p> <p>2. MARLOWE-SHAKSPERE GROUP.
Early History.
2 and 3 <i>Henry VI.</i> (Marlowe's presence).
<i>Richard III.</i> (Marlowe's influence).</p> <p>3. EARLY COMEDIES.
<i>Love's Labours Lost.</i> Errors.
<i>Two Gentlemen.</i> <i>Midsummer-Night's Dream.</i></p> <p>4. EARLY TRAGEDY. <i>Romeo and Juliet.</i></p> <p>5. MIDDLE HISTORY. <i>Rich. II.</i> <i>K. John.</i></p> <p>6. MIDDLE COMEDY. <i>Merchant of Venice.</i></p> <p>7. LATER HISTORY (History and Comedy united). 1 and 2 <i>Henry IV.</i> <i>Henry V.</i></p> <p>8. LATER COMEDY.</p> | <p>Jaques the link to the next group.)</p> <p>Discordant (c.) Earnest. <i>All's Well.</i>
sadness. Bitter, dark. <i>Measure for Measure.</i>
Ironical. <i>Troilus and Cressida.</i></p> <p>9. MIDDLE TRAGEDY (= Tragedy of reflection). <i>Julius Caesar.</i> Error and misfortune rather than passion and crime.</p> <p>10. LATER TRAGEDY (= Tragedy of passion). Jealousy and murder. <i>Othello.</i>
Ambition and murder. <i>Macbeth.</i>
Ingratitude and parricide. <i>Lear.</i>
Voluptuousness. <i>Antony and Cleopatra.</i>
Haughtiness (alienation from country). <i>Coriolanus.</i>
Misanthropy (alienation from humanity). <i>Timon.</i> (<i>Timon</i> the climax.)</p> <p>11. ROMANCES.
Sketch <i>Marina</i> (1st <i>Tempest</i>).
<i>Tempest</i> (<i>Tempest</i> again).
<i>Cymbeline.</i> <i>Winter's Tale.</i></p> <p>12. FRAGMENTS.
<i>Henry VIII.</i> <i>Two Noble Kinsmen.</i></p> |
|--|--|

Observe I have early, middle, and later History; early, middle, and later Comedy; and early, middle, and later Tragedy; and the plays might well be read not only right through in chronological order, but also in these three lines chronologically:—

Comedy: a. b. c.

Tragedy: a. b. c.

History: a. b. c.

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